



# Secret History of the Court of England ❀

From the Accession of George the Third to  
the Death of George the Fourth; including,  
among other Important Matters, Full Particulars  
of the Mysterious Death of the Princess Charlotte ❀ ❀ ❀ ❀

By the Right Honourable

Lady Anne Hamilton

Sister of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and  
Brandon; and of the Countess of Dunmore

"Of meaner vice and villains, sing no more,  
But monsters crown'd, and Crime enrob'd with Power!  
At Vice's high imperial throne begin,  
And boldly brand such prodigies of sin;  
With pregnant phrase, and strong impartial verse,  
The crimes of lords and crimes of kings rehearse!"

In Two Volumes — Volume I.

*With Illustrations*



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## TO THE READER

THE source from whence this work proceeds will be a sufficient guarantee for the facts it contains. A high sense of duty and honour has prompted these details which have for many years been on the eve of publication. It will be worthy of the perusal of the great because it will serve as a mirror, and they who do not see themselves, or their actions reflected, will not take offence at the unvarnished picture ; it may afford real benefit to the statesman and politician, by the ample testimony it gives, that when justice is perverted the most lamentable consequences ensue ; and to that class of society whose station is more humble it may unfold the designing characters by whom they have so frequently been deceived. They only are competent to detail the scenes and intrigues of a court who have been most intimately acquainted with it, and it must at all times be acknowledged that it is a climate not very conducive to the growth of virtue, not very frequently the abode of truth — yet although its atmosphere is so tainted, its giddy crowd is thought enviably happy. The fallacy of such opinions is here set forth to public view by one who has spent much



of her time in the interior of a court, and whose immediate knowledge of the then passing events gives ability to narrate them faithfully. Many, very many facts are here omitted, which hereafter shall appear, and there is little doubt but that some general good may result from an unprejudiced and calm perusal of the subjects subjoined.

## PREFACE

How far the law of libel (as it now stands) may affect is best to be ascertained by a reference to the declaration of Lord Abingdon, in 1779, and inserted, verbatim, at page 49, first volume of this "Secret History." The following pages are intended as a benefit, not to do injury. If the facts could not have been maintained proper methods ought to have been adopted to have caused the most minute inquiry and investigation upon the subject. Many an arrow has been shot, and innumerable suspicions entertained from what motive and by whose hand the bow was drawn, yet here all mystery ceases and an open avowal is made. Would to Heaven for the honour of human nature that the subjoined documents were falsehoods and calumniations invented for the purpose of maligning character, or for personal resentments; but the unusual corroboration of events, places, times, and persons will not admit the probability. In the affair of the ever lamented death of the Princess Charlotte, the three important letters commencing at page 15, volume second, are of essential importance, and deserve the most grave and delib-

crate inquiry — for the first time they now appear in print. The subjects connected with the royal mother are also of deep interest. The conduct of the English government toward Napoleon is introduced to give a true and impartial view of the reasons which dictated such arbitrary and unjust measures enforced against that great man, and which will ever remain a blot upon the British nation. These unhandsome derelictions from honourable conduct could alone be expressed by those who were well informed upon private subjects. Respect for the illustrious dead has materially encouraged the inclination to give publicity to scenes, which were as revolting in themselves as they were cruel and most heartrending to the victims ; throughout the whole, it is quite apparent that certain persons were obnoxious to the ruling authorities, and the sequel will prove that the extinction of such persons was resolved upon, let the means and measures to obtain that object be what they might. During this period we find those who had long been opposed in political sentiments to all appearance perfectly reconciled, and adhering to that party from whom they might expect the greatest honours and advancement in the state. We need only refer as proofs for this to the late Spencer Perceval, and George Canning, who, to obtain preferment, joined the confederations formed against an unprotected princess, and yet who previously had been the most strenu-

ous defenders of the same lady's cause. Well may it be observed that vanity is too powerful, —

“The seals of office glitter in their eyes,  
They leave the truth, and by their falsehoods rise.”

These remarks are not intended as any disparagement to the private characters or virtues of those statesmen whose talent was great and well cultivated, but to establish the position which it is the object of this work to show, that justice has not been fairly and impartially administered when the requirement was in opposition to the royal wish or the administration.

Within these volumes will also be found urgent remonstrances against the indignities offered to the people of Ireland, whose forbearance has been great and whose sorrows are without a parallel, and who merit the same regard as England and Scotland. Much is omitted relative to the private conduct of persons who occupy high stations, but should it be needful it shall be published, and all the correspondence connected therewith. It is true much honour will not be derived from such explanations, but they are forthcoming if requisite.

The generality of readers will not criticise severely upon the diction of these prefatory remarks; they will rather have their attention turned to the truths submitted to them, and the end in view, — that end is for the advancement of the best interests of society, — to unite more closely each mem-

ber in the bonds of friendship and amity, and to expose the hidden causes which for so long a period have been barriers to concord, unity, and happiness.

"MAY GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT."

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# SECRET HISTORY OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND

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## CHAPTER I.

A Truthful Narrative — The Passion of a Prince — A Secret Marriage — Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz — An Ill-mated Pair — Lord Chatham in Disguise — The Civil List — War and Peace — A Christening and a Naval Victory — Toryism — Birth of Frederick, Duke of York — Poland.



THE secret history of the Court of England, during the last two reigns, will afford the reflecting mind abundant matter for regret and abhorrence. It has, however, been so much the fashion for historians to speak of kings and their ministers in all the fulsome terms of flattery, that the inquirer frequently finds it a matter of great difficulty to arrive at truth. But, fearless of consequences, we will speak of facts as they really occurred, and only hope our readers will accompany us in the recital with feelings unwarped by party prejudice, and with a determination to judge the actions of kings, lords, and commons, not as beings of a superior order, but as men. Minds thus constituted will have

little difficulty in tracing the origin of our present evils, or of perceiving —

“How many that command should be commanded!”

We commence with the year 1761, about which period George the Third was pressed by his ministers to make choice of some royal lady, and demand her in marriage. They urged this under the pretext that such a connection was indispensably necessary to give stability to the monarchy, to assist the progressive improvements in morality and religion, and to benefit all artificers, by making a display at court of their ingenious productions. His Majesty heard the proposal with an aching heart; and, to many of his ministers, he seemed as if labouring under bodily indisposition. Those persons, however, who were in the immediate confidence of the king, felt no surprise at the distressing change so apparent in the countenance of his Majesty, the cause of which may be traced in the following particulars :

The unhappy sovereign, while Prince of Wales, was in the daily habit of passing through St. James's Street, and its immediate vicinity. In one of his favourite rides through that part of town, he saw a very engaging young lady, who appeared, by her dress, to be a member of the Society of Friends. The prince was much struck by the delicacy and lovely appearance of this female, and, for several succeeding days, was observed to walk

out alone. At length, the passion of his Royal Highness arrived at such a point that he felt his happiness depended upon receiving the lady in marriage.

Every individual in his immediate circle, or in the list of the Privy Council, was very narrowly questioned by the prince, though in an indirect manner, to ascertain who was most to be trusted, that he might secure, honourably, the possession of the object of his ardent wishes. His Royal Highness, at last, confided his views to his next brother, Edward, Duke of York, and another person, who were the only witnesses to the legal marriage of the Prince of Wales to the before-mentioned lady, Hannah Lightfoot, which took place at Curzon Street Chapel, May Fair, in the year 1759.

This marriage was productive of issue, the particulars of which, however, we pass over for the present, and only look to the results of the union.

Shortly after the prince came to the throne, by the title of George the Third, ministers became suspicious of his marriage with the Quakeress. At length they were informed of the important fact, and immediately determined to annul it. After innumerable schemes how they might best attain this end, and thereby frustrate the king's wishes, they devised the "Royal Marriage Act," by which every prince or princess of the blood might not marry or intermarry with any person of less de-



gree. This act, however, was not passed till thirteen years after George the Third's union with Miss Lightfoot, and therefore it could not render such marriage illegal.

From the moment the ministry became aware of his Majesty's alliance to the lady just named, they took possession of their watch-tower, and determined that the new sovereign should henceforth do even as their will dictated, while the unsuspecting mind of George the Third was easily beguiled into their specious devices. In the absence of the king's beloved brother, Edward, Duke of York (who was then abroad for a short period), his Majesty was assured by his ministers that no cognisance would be taken at any time of his late unfortunate amour and marriage; and persuaded him that the only stability he could give to his throne was demanding the hand of the Princess ✓ Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Every needful letter and paper for the negotiation was speedily prepared for the king's signature, which, in due course, each received; and thus was the foundation laid for this ill-fated prince's future malady!

Who can reflect upon the blighted first love of this monarch, without experiencing feelings of pity for his early sorrows! With his domestic habits, had he only been allowed to live with the wife of his choice, his reign might have passed in harmony and peace, and the English people now been affluent, happy, and contented. Instead of which, his

unfeeling ministers compelled him to marry one of the most selfish, vindictive, and tyrannical women that ever disgraced human nature! At the first sight of the German princess, the king actually shrunk from her gaze; for her countenance was of that cast that too plainly told of the nature of the spirit working within.

On the 18th of September, the king was obliged to subscribe to the formal ceremony of a marriage with the before-named lady, at the palace of St. James. His Majesty's brother, Edward, who was one of the witnesses to the king's first marriage with Miss Lightfoot, was now also present, and used every endeavour to support his royal brother through the "trying ordeal," not only by first meeting the princess on her entrance into the garden, but also at the altar.

In the meantime, the Earl of Abercorn informed the princess of the previous marriage of the king, and of the then existence of his Majesty's wife; and Lord Harcourt advised the princess to well inform herself of the policy of the kingdoms, as a measure for preventing much future disturbance in the country as well as securing an uninterrupted possession of the throne to her issue. Presuming, therefore, that this German princess had hitherto been an open and ingenuous character (which are certainly traits very rarely to be found in the mind of a German of her grade), such expositions, intimations, and dark mysteries were ill calculated to

nourish honourable feelings, but would rather operate as a check to their further existence.

To the public eye, the newly married pair were contented with each other; alas! it was because each feared an exposure to the nation. The king reproached himself that he had not fearlessly avowed the only wife of his affections; the queen, because she feared an explanation that the king was guilty of bigamy, and thereby her claim, as also that of her progeny (if she should have any), would be known to be illegitimate. It appears as if the result of these reflections formed a basis for the misery of millions, and added to that number millions then unborn. The secret marriage of the king proved a pivot, on which the destiny of kingdoms was to turn.

At this period of increased anxiety to his Majesty, Miss Lightfoot was disposed of during a temporary absence of his brother Edward, and from that time no satisfactory tidings ever reached those most interested in her welfare. The only information that could be obtained was, that a young gentleman, named Axford, was offered a large amount, to be paid on the consummation of his marriage with Miss Lightfoot, which offer he willingly accepted.

The king was greatly distressed to ascertain the fate of his much beloved and legally married wife, the Quakeress, and entrusted Lord Chatham to go in disguise, and endeavour to trace her abode; but

the search proving fruitless, the king was again almost distracted.

Every one in the queen's confidence was expected to make any personal sacrifice of feeling whenever her Majesty might require it; and, consequently, new emoluments, honours, and posts of dignity were continually needful for the preservation of such unnatural friendships. From this period, new creations of peers were enrolled; and, as it became expedient to increase the number of the "privy cabal," the nation was freely called upon, by extra taxation and oppressive burdens of various kinds, to supply the necessary means to support this vile system of bribery and misrule!

We have dwelt upon this important period, because we wish our countrymen to see the origin of our overgrown national debt, — the real cause of England's present wretchedness.

The coronation of their Majesties passed over, a few days after their marriage, without any remarkable feature, save that of an additional expense to the nation. The queen generally appeared at ease, though she seized upon every possible occasion to slight all persons from whom she feared any state explanation, which might prove inimical to her wishes. The wily queen thought this would effectually prevent their frequent appearance at court, as well as cause their banishment from the council-chamber.

By this treaty, the original cause of the war was removed by the cession of Canada to England. This advantage, if advantage it may be called, cost this country eighteen millions of money, besides the loss of three hundred thousand men! Every friend of humanity must shudder at so wanton a sacrifice of life, and so prodigious an expenditure of the public money! But this was only the commencement of the reign of imbecility and Germanism.

On the 12th of August, her Majesty was safely delivered of a prince. Court etiquette requires numerous witnesses of the birth of an heir-apparent to the British throne. On this occasion, however, her Majesty's extraordinary delicacy dispensed with a strict adherence to the forms of state; for only the Archbishop of Canterbury was allowed to be in the room. But there were more powerful reasons than delicacy for this unusual privacy, which will hereafter appear.

On the 18th of September following, the ceremony of christening the royal infant was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the great council-chamber of his Majesty's palace, and the young prince was named George Augustus Frederick.

In this year, the city of Havana surrendered to the English, whose troops were commanded by Lord Albermarle and Admiral Pococke. Nine sail of the line and four frigates were taken in the

machinery was the keystone of all the mischiefs and miseries of the nation. It was Lord Bute's opinion that all things should be made subservient to the queen, and he framed his measures accordingly.

The earl was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville. Little alteration for the better, however, was manifested in the administration, although the characters and principles of the new ministers were supposed to be of a liberal description; but this may possibly be accounted for by the Earls of Halifax and Egremont continuing to be the secretaries of state.

In this memorable year, the celebrated John Wilkes, editor of *The North Briton*, was committed to the Tower, for an excellent, though biting, criticism on his Majesty's speech to the two houses of Parliament. The queen vigorously promoted this unconstitutional and tyrannical act of the new government, which was severely censured by many members of the House of Commons. Among the rest, Mr. Pitt considered the act as an infringement upon the rights of the people; and, although he condemned the libel, he said he would come at the author fairly, — not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. Wilkes, however, came off triumphantly, and his victory was hailed with delight by his gratified countrymen.

In the midst of this public agitation, the q

on the 16th of August, burdened the nation with her second son, Frederick, afterward created Duke of York, Bishop of Osnaburgh, and many other et ceteras, which produced a good round sum, and, we should think, more than sufficient to support this Right Reverend Father in God, at the age of — eleven months!

Colonel Gréme, who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg with the King of England, was this year appointed Master of St. Catherine, near the Tower, an excellent sinecure in the peculiar gift of the queen!

The most important public event on the Continent was the death of Augustus, third King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, who had lately returned to his electoral dominions, from which he had been banished for six years, in consequence of the war. Immediately after his demise, his eldest son and successor to the electorate declared himself a candidate for the crown of Poland, in which ambition he was supposed to be countenanced by the Court of Vienna; but he fell a victim to the smallpox, a few weeks after his father's death.

or the labourer, think that their sovereign was living in splendid misery, bereft of the dearest object of his solicitude, and compelled to associate with the woman he all but detested!

Nature had not formed George the Third for a king; she had not been profuse to him either in elegance of manners, or capacity of mind; but he seemed more fitted to shine in a domestic circle, where his affections were centred, and in that sphere only. But, with all hereditary monarchies, an incompetent person has the same claim as a man adorned with every requisite and desirable ability!

In this year, Lord Albermarle received twenty thousand pounds as his share in the Havana prize-money; while one pound, two shillings, and six pence was thought sufficient for a corporal, and thirteen shillings and five pence for a private! How far this disbursement was consistent with equity, we leave every honest member of society to determine.

In December a most excellent edict was registered in the Parliament of Paris, by which the King of France abolished the society of Jesuits for ever.

Early in the year 1765, the queen was pressingly anxious that her marriage with the king should again be solemnised; and, as the queen was then pregnant, his Majesty readily acquiesced in her wishes. Doctor Wilmot, by his Majesty's



appointment, performed the ceremony at their palace at Kew. The king's brother, Edward, was present upon this occasion also, as he had been on the two former ones.

Under the peculiar distractions of this year, it was supposed the mind of the sovereign was again disturbed. To prevent a recurrence of such interruptions to the royal authority, a law was passed, empowering his Majesty to appoint the queen, or other member of the royal family, assisted by a council, to act as regent of the kingdom. Although his Majesty's blank of intellect was but of short duration, it proved of essential injury to the people generally. The tyrannical queen, presuming on the authority of this bill, exercised the most unlimited sway over national affairs. She supplied her own requirements and opinions, in unison with her trusty-bought clan, who made it apparent that these suggestions were offered by the king, and were his settled opinions, upon the most deliberate investigation of all matters and things connected therewith!

During the king's indisposition, he was most passionate in his requests that the wife of his choice should be brought to him. The queen, judging her influence might be of much consequence to quell the perturbation of her husband's mind, was, agreeably to her own request, admitted to the solitary apartment of the king. It is true he recognised her, but it was followed by extreme

expressions of disappointment and disgust! The queen was well acquainted with all subjects connected with his Majesty's unfortunate passion and marriage; therefore, she thought it prudent to stifle expressions of anger or sorrow, and, as soon as decency permitted, left the place, resolving thenceforth to manage the helm herself.

On the 31st of October, his Majesty's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, died suddenly at his house in Upper Grosvenor Street, in the forty-fifth year of his age; and on the 28th of December, his Majesty's youngest brother, Prince Frederick William, also expired, in the sixteenth year of his age.

On December 1st, 1766, his Majesty's sister, Matilda, was married to the King of Denmark, and the Duke of York was proxy on the occasion. Soon afterward his Royal Highness took leave of his brother, and set out on a projected tour through Germany and other parts of the Continent. The queen was most happy to say "Adieu," and, for the first time, felt something like ease on his account.

The supplies granted for the service of this year, although the people were in the most distressed state, amounted to eight millions, two hundred and seventy-three thousand, two hundred and eighty pounds!

In the year 1767, the noble-minded and generous Duke of York was married to a descendant

of the Stuarts, an amiable and conciliating lady, not only willing, but anxious, to live without the splendour of royal parade, and desirous also of evading the flatteries and falsehoods of a court.

In August the duke lived very retired in a château near Monaco, in Italy, blessed and happy in the society of his wife. She was then advancing in pregnancy, and his solicitude for her was sufficient to have deeply interested a heart less susceptible than her own. Their marriage was kept from public declaration, but we shall refer to the proofs hereafter. In the ensuing month it was announced that (17th September) the duke "died of a malignant fever," in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the news was immediately communicated to the King of England. The body was said to be embalmed, (?) and then put on board his Majesty's ship *Montreal*, to be brought to England. His Royal Highness was interred on the evening of November 3d, in the royal vault of King Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

The fate of the duke's unfortunate and inconsolable widow, and that of the infant, to whom she soon after gave birth, must be reserved for its appropriate place in this history.

The high price of provisions this year occasioned much distress and discontent, and excited tumults in various parts of the kingdom. Notwithstanding this, ministers attempted to retain every tax that had been imposed during the late war, and ap-

peared perfectly callous to the sufferings of the productive classes. Even the land tax, of four shillings in the pound, was attempted to be continued, though contrary to all former custom; but the country gentlemen became impatient of this innovation, and contrived to get a bill introduced into the House of Commons, to reduce it to three shillings in the pound. This was carried by a great majority, in spite of all the efforts of the ministry to the contrary! The defeat of the ministers caused a great sensation at the time, as it was the first money bill in which any ministry had been disappointed since the revolution of 1688! But what can any ministers do against the wishes of a determined people? If the horse knew his own strength, would he submit to the dictation of his rider?

On account of the above bill being thrown out, ministers had considerable difficulty in raising the necessary supplies for the year, which were estimated at eight millions and a half, including, we suppose, secret service money, which was now in great demand.

The king experienced a fluctuating state of health, sometimes improving, again retrograding, up to the year 1768. In his speech, in the November of this year, his Majesty announced that much disturbance had been exhibited in some of the colonies, and a disposition manifested to throw aside their dependence upon Great Britain. Ow-

ing to this circumstance, a new office was created, under the name of "Secretary of State for the Colonies," and to which the Earl of Hillsborough was appointed.

The Earl of Chatham having resigned, Parliament was dissolved. Party spirit running high, the electioneering contests were unusually violent, and serious disorders occurred. Mr. Wilkes was returned for Middlesex; but, being committed to the King's Bench for libels on the government, the mob rescued Wilkes from the soldiers, who were conducting him thither. The military were ordered to fire on the people, and one man, who was singled out and pursued by the soldiers, was shot dead. A coroner's inquest brought this in wilful murder, though the higher authorities not only acquitted the magistrates and soldiers, but actually returned public thanks to them!

At this period, the heart sickens at the relations given of the punishments inflicted on many private soldiers in the guards. They were each allowed only four pence per day. If they deserted and were retaken, the poor delinquents suffered the dreadful infliction of five hundred lashes. The victims thus flagellated very seldom escaped with life! In the navy, also, the slightest offence or neglect was punished with inexpressible tortures. This infamous treatment of brave men can only be accounted for by the fact that officers in the army and navy either bought their situations

or received them as a compensation for some secret service performed for, or by the request of, the queen and her servile ministry. Had officers been promoted from the ranks, for performing real services to their country, they would have then possessed more commiseration for their brothers in arms.

We must here do justice to the character of George the Third from all intentional tyranny. Many a time has this monarch advocated the cause of the productive classes, and as frequently have his ministers, urged on by the queen, defeated his most sanguine wishes, until he found himself a mere cipher in the affairs of state. The king's simplicity of style and unaffected respect for the people would have induced him to despise the gorgeous pageantry of state; he had been happy, indeed, to have been "the real father of his subjects." His Majesty well knew that the public good ought to be the sole aim of all governments, and that for this purpose a prince is invested with the regal crown. A king is not to employ his authority, patronage, and riches, merely to gratify his own lusts and ambition; but, if need require it, he ought even to sacrifice his own ease and pleasure for the benefit of his country. We give George the Third credit for holding these sentiments, which, however, only increased his regrets, as he really had no power to act, — that power being in the possession of his queen

and other crafty and designing persons, to whose opinions and determinations he had become a perfect slave. It is to be regretted that he had not sufficient nerve to eject such characters from his councils; for assuredly the nation would have been, to a man, willing to protect him from their vile machinations; but once subdued, he was subdued for ever.

From the birth, a prince is a subject of flattery, and is even caressed for his vicious propensities; nay, his minions never appear before him without a mask, while every artifice that cunning can suggest is practised to deceive him. He is not allowed to mix in general society, and therefore is ignorant of the wants and wishes of the people over whom he is destined to reign. When he becomes a king, his counsellors obtain his signature whenever they desire it; and, as his extravagance increases, so must sums of money, in some way or other, be extorted from his suffering and oppressed subjects. Should his ministers prove ambitious, war is the natural result, and the money of the poor is again in request to furnish means for their own destruction. Whereas, had the prince been associated with the intelligent and respectable classes of society, he might have warded off the evil, and, instead of desolating war, peace might have shed her gentle influence over the land. Another barbarous custom is the injunction imposed upon royal succession

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✓ | that, they shall marry only with their equals in birth. But is not this a violation of the most vital interests and solemn engagements to which humanity have subscribed? What unhappiness has not such an unnatural doctrine produced?

✓ | Quality of blood ought only to be recognised by corresponding nobility of sentiments, principles, and actions. He that is debarred from possessing the object of his virtuous regard is to be pitied, whether he be a king or a peasant; and we can hardly wonder at his sinking into the abyss of carelessness, imbecility, and even madness.

In February, 1769, the first of those deficiencies in the civil list, which had occurred from time to time, was made known to Parliament by a message in the name of the unhappy king, but who only did as he was ordered by his ministerial cabal. This debt amounted to five hundred thousand pounds, and his Majesty was tutored to say that he relied on the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons to enable him to discharge it. The principal part of this money was expended upon wretches of the most abandoned description for services performed against the welfare of England.

The year 1770 proved one of much political interest. The queen was under the necessity of retiring a little from the apparent part she had taken in the affairs of state; nevertheless, she was equally active, but from policy did not appear so. Another plan to deceive the people being deemed



necessary, invitations for splendid parties were given in order to assume an appearance of confidence and quietness which her Majesty could not, and did not, possess.

In this year, Lord Chatham publicly avowed his sentiments in these words: "Infuse a portion of health into the constitution to enable it to bear its infirmities." Previous to making this remark, his lordship, of course, was well acquainted with the causes of the then present distresses of the country, as well as the sources from whence those causes originated. But one generous patriot is not sufficient to put a host of antagonists to flight. The earl's measures were too mild to be heeded by the minions of the queen then in power; his intention being "to persuade and soften, not to irritate and offend." We may infer that, had he been merely a "party man," he would naturally concur in any enterprise likely to create a bustle without risk to himself; but, upon examination, he appears to have loved the cause of independence, and was willing to support it by every personal sacrifice.

About this time, the Duke of Grafton resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, in which he was succeeded by that disgrace to his country, Lord North, who then commenced his long and disastrous administration. Doctor Wilmot was a friendly preceptor to this nobleman, while at the university; but it was frequently a matter of

competent person to speak fully upon political subjects. He had long been the bosom friend of the king, and spent all his leisure time at court. No one, therefore, could better judge of the state of public affairs than himself, and his sense of duty to the nation animated him to plead for the long-estranged rights of the people; indeed, upon many occasions he displayed such a heroic firmness, such an invincible love of truth, and such an unconquerable sense of honour, that he permitted his talents to be exercised freely in the cause of public justice, and subscribed his *addenda* under an envelope, rather than injure his prince, or leave the interests of his countrymen to the risk of fortuitous circumstances. We know of whom we speak, and therefore feel authorised to assert that in his character was concentrated the steady friend of the prince as well as of the people.

Numerous disquisitions have been written to prove the identity of Junius; but, in spite of many arguments to the contrary, we recognise him in the person of the Rev. James Wilmot, D. D., rector of Barton on the Heath, and Aulcester, Warwickshire, and one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for that county.

Doctor Wilmot was born in 1720, and, during his stay at the university, became intimately acquainted with Doctor Johnson, Lord Archer, and Lord Plymouth, as well as Lord North, who was then entered at Trinity College. From these gen-

tlemen, the doctor imbibed his political opinions, and was introduced to the first society in the kingdom. At the age of thirty, Doctor Wilmot was confidently entrusted with the most secret affairs of state, and was also the bosom friend of the Prince of Wales, afterward George the Third, who at that time was under the entire tutorage of Lord Bute. To this nobleman, Doctor Wilmot had an inveterate hatred, for he despised the selfish principles of Toryism. As soon as the Princess of Mecklenburg (the late Queen Charlotte) arrived in this country in 1761, Doctor Wilmot was introduced, as the especial friend of the king, and this will at once account for his being chosen to perform the second marriage ceremony of their Majesties at Kew palace, as before related.

A circumstance of rather a singular nature occurred to Doctor Wilmot, in the year 1765, inasmuch as it was the immediate cause of the bold and decisive line of conduct which he afterward adopted. It was simply this: the doctor received an anonymous letter, requesting an interview with the writer in Kensington Gardens. The letter was written in Latin, and sealed, the impression of which was a Medusa's head. The doctor at first paid no attention to it; but during the week he received four similar requests, written by the same hand; and, upon the receipt of the last, Doctor Wilmot provided himself with a brace of pocket pistols, and proceeded to the gardens at

ermania — the *limes*: a Roman wall of castles and ramparts between Rhine and Danube. Any visitor to the Saalburg near Frankfort can see one of these fortresses in its restored state. Only the territory on the left bank of the Rhine, and modern South Prussia, Baden-Wuerttemberg, and Upper Bavaria became romanized. The legionaries became bored with their castles, the Germans grew peaceful, and the Roman historian, Tacitus, who strongly criticizes the morals of Roman society under the reign of Domitian, the second Nero, presents the Germans to the Romans in his "Germania" in flattering terms as models of simple moral uprightness and genuine vigor.

Reading that report, it is doubtful whether the Germans would have recognized themselves. But it is remarkable that this first portraitist of the German mind stresses, as its essential qualities, its will to freedom and its disinclination to form ties. It is precisely this trait which later typifies the Anglo-Saxons and becomes decisive in German history up to the Thirty Years' War, i.e., for more than a thousand years.

Not only Tacitus but close personal contact introduced the Germans to the Romans; for service in the legions attracted German youth, and the Caesars were anxious to recruit German warriors. In the Roman military state the legions were all-powerful. German influence increased in them to the point that some historians hold the view that Rome was gradually being conquered by the Germans from within. However, it did not stop at peaceful penetration. As the Roman Empire weakened, German assaults began on the *limes*. The castles went up in flames, the cities with them, and in the 3rd century A. D. the inhabitants of Gaul, the modern France, felt as insecure as do human beings in the 20th century. Repeatedly, the Franks appeared on the Lower Rhine, and the Alemanni on the upper reaches of the river, no matter how often they were repulsed. There were breathing spaces. In the middle of this period, Trier (Treves) on the Mosel became an imperial city, to which fact many monuments in stone, such as the Porta Nigra, which today are the delight of the traveler in Germany, bear witness. But finally the dam burst. The Franks poured into Gaul, then called the kingdom of the Franks — France. The Alemanni settled in Southwest Germany as far as Switzerland, the Burgundians pushed between the two races into Western Switzerland and modern French Burgundy, giving the land the name now borne by the wines from the Côte d'Or near Dijon. The Burgundians were unwelcome guests. For they were East Germans hailing from Sweden who had no business to squeeze between the Franks and the Alemanni. These East Germans, however, were the most active in this Great Migration of people. Among them were the Vandals who did not halt until they had established an empire in North Africa, the Visigoths who founded another in Southern France and Spain, and the Ostrogoths who drove towards Italy and brought the Roman Empire to an end.

For some time there had also been in existence another Roman Empire in Byzantium. This "Eastern Rome" had endured because it succeeded in making the Germans wage war against Western Rome. The downfall of Rome was no more than the collapse of the western half of the Roman Empire. Byzantium survived another thousand years, even regaining North Africa and Italy, only to lose the former to the Arabs and the latter to the Germans and the Langobards. By the time the Angles and Saxons conquered England, the Roman Empire west of the Adriatic and north of the Mediterranean had fallen to the Germans.

This Great Migration was undoubtedly one of the fundamental events in world history. It is not important because a wave of Huns from Asia participated in it and bequeathed to the modern world the name of their leader, Attila. The pregnant fact was that the Occident, formerly Graeco-Roman, became Roman-Germanic in Italy, France, and Spain, and predominantly Germanic in England. The migration also marked the German encounter with Christianity. The Germans became christianized, but not without Christianity being germanized in turn. The Germans exalted Christ as a warrior king on the German pattern, but the imperial church of Rome survived the downfall of the Roman Empire, and in 800 A. D. the Pope in Rome crowned the Frankish king, Charles, as emperor with the imperial Roman crown.

That happened long ago. Yet this new western kingdom was to last a thousand years. Napoleon still considered himself the successor of Charlemagne, and today the Europe of the Coal and Steel Community is being compared to the kingdom of Charles the Great, less on historical than on geographical grounds. For Charles, descendant of the Frankish Carolingian dynasty, ruled over present-day Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and present-day Germany up to the River Elbe. His imperial city, Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), lay exactly in the center of his kingdom, and Emperor Karl der Grosse — the Charlemagne of the French — was the common ancestor of German and French history.

He has every right to this title. But for his own time he was the great German king, unifier of the Germans after the migration. Only the Anglo-Saxons in England, the Visigoths, sorely pressed by the Arabs in Spain, and the North Germans did not come under his sway. The Franks became the "Prussians" of the migration. They conquered the Alemanni, the Frisians, the Bajuvari — who had pushed from Bohemia into the land named Bavaria after them — the Saxons, with whom Charles the Great fought a long and bloody war, and the Langobards in Italy. Even today, the tribal borders run through Germany as they did in those struggles long ago. Even today, the area where the Franks settled extends up the valleys of the Rhine and Main from the "Rhinelands" around Cologne to the present Franconia between Wuerzburg and Nuremberg.

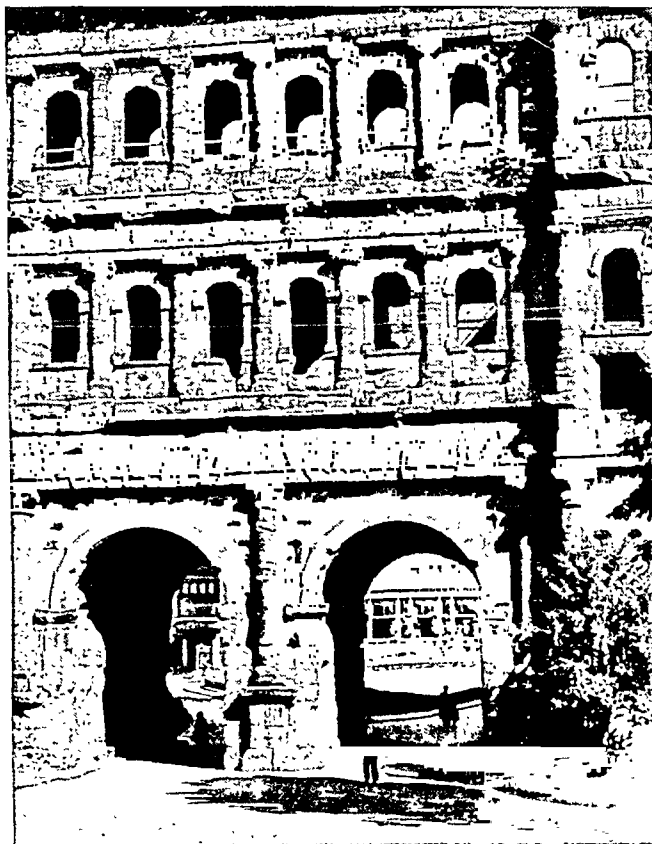
of a writer like Junius, for their burdens at this time were of the most grievous magnitude. Although the country was not in danger from foreign enemies, in order to give posts of command, honour, and emolument to the employed sycophants at court, our navy was increased, nominal situations were provided; while all the means to pay for such services were again ordered to be drawn from the people.

Even today, the border separating the Franks and Alemanni runs between Karlsruhe and Baden-Baden, because once, more than a thousand years ago, the Franks had advanced to that line in their battle against the Alemanni. This position between the Saxons to the north and the Alemanni and Bavarians to the south gave supremacy to the Franks and enabled them to found the first European empire following the downfall of Rome.

It was neither a German nor a French empire. Franks still lived both on the Main and the Loire. For centuries Northern France and the heart of Western Germany were Frankish territory. The empire of Charles the Great extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Elbe. However, within one generation from the death of Charlemagne, Europe had assumed a different aspect. Sometimes the same rule applies to political dynasties as to family businesses: the third generation is unable to safeguard the heritage of the founder. Out of one great empire three smaller ones arose: a western kingdom of the West Franks, who gradually became the French; a central one extending from Aix-la-Chapelle over the Alps to Rome, which once again only lasted a generation; and an eastern kingdom of the East Franks, Alemanni, Saxons, and Bavarians, who gradually evolved into Germans. The central kingdom disappeared, sharing the common fate of the smaller between two stronger, and in



*Worms: city walls, built on the foundations of an earlier Roman fortification*



*Trier: Porta Nigra (the Black Gate) — one of the oldest and most important surviving examples of Roman architecture north of the Alps*

870 a frontier was drawn between the western and eastern empires — later France and Germany — which was to endure for many centuries. In that year, exactly a millenium before the Franco-Prussian War, it was decided that Lotharingia and Alsace should belong to the eastern empire. This is another instance of the traditions behind European frontiers. With the reigns of Charles the Fat, Ludwig the Child, and Charles the Bald, the Carolingians disappeared from history in the swan song of a race that had fulfilled its historic mission. The Greater German Empire had vanished. When the West and East Franks could no longer understand each other owing to the difference in their languages, when East Franks began to speak "thiudisk" (deutsch = deutsch = German), Charlemagne's Empire ceased to exist. The age of Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians in western history had begun. The "nations" demanded their rights, and Charlemagne's empire, Germanic Europe, passed into history. Yet it continued to influence events. In the early stages of Europe, after the downfall of the Roman Empire, there were no nations. Instead there was European unity, a European entity. In it the universal tradition of the Roman Empire remained alive. Future generations inherited that tradition. The German princes, victorious over the Caesars, yet considered themselves heirs of the

law in other cases. But the boroughmongers and minions of the queen were too powerful for the liberal party in the House of Commons, and the chains of slavery were, consequently, riveted afresh.

A question of great importance also occurred this year, respecting the privileges of the House of Commons. It had become the practice of newspaper writers to take the liberty, not before ventured upon, of printing the speeches of the members, under their respective names; some of which in the whole, and others in essential parts, were spurious productions, and, in any case, contrary to the standing orders of the House. A complaint on this ground having been made by a member against two of the printers, an order was issued for their attendance, with which they refused to comply; a second order was given, with no better success. At length, one of the printers being taken into custody under the authority of the Speaker's warrant, he was carried before the celebrated Alderman John Wilkes, who, regarding the caption as illegal, not only discharged the man, but bound him over to prosecute his captor, for assault and false imprisonment. Two more printers, being apprehended and carried before Alderman Wilkes and the lord mayor, Crosby, were, in like manner, discharged. The indignation of the House was then directed against the city magistrates, and various measures adopted

vanquished. They did not want to destroy but to inherit the whole empire which Theodor the Ostrogoth had established over the Franks Chlodwig and Karl. Thus the idea of, and the feeling for, the European empire and European unity remained alive throughout the Middle Ages after the collapse of the edifice built by Charlemagne.

German history, which begins after the death of Charles, bears the stamp of his empire all through the Middle Ages. It was that aspect of the Holy Roman Empire which was to leave its indelible imprint on the history of Europe.

### EMPERORS AND POPES

With the disappearance of the last Carolingian of the eastern line, a century after Charlemagne's death, history books cease to refer to an "East Frankish Kingdom". They speak directly of a German Kingdom comprising the duchies of Lotharingia, Saxony, Franconia, Swabia (sometimes still called Alemania) and Bavaria. The lands between Schelde and Meuse in the west, those which today form Central and Eastern Switzerland in the south, the Bavarian forests and the River Elbe in the east, and the River Schlei in the north — all these became "Teutonic lands". Out of Germania arose Germany: the union of Lotharingians, who were not a tribe but the inhabitants of the former central empire of the Carolingians under the Emperor Lothar, and of Franks, Swabians, Saxons, and Bavarians, who were authentic German tribes and formed constitutional duchies.

Germany enters history as a federation. The motto of the 20th century German constitutions — "the German nation, united in one origin" — can boast of a noble history going back one thousand years. The tribal tradition in Germany is an ancient legacy of the Germanic era. The tribes existed before Germany. But the kingdom uniting them all also preceded Germany; it is one of the roots of German history, and the interplay of empire and tribal tradition remains one of the fundamental features of that history.

It was a decisive point of departure of German history, beginning in the 10th century, that the tribes did not form the empire. The German Empire was merely the eastern part of the Carolingian Empire, which had won its independence. The tribes had long lived within the community of that kingdom. They separated from the romanized West but maintained their former ties with each other. The universal Carolingian dynasty expired in the same way as its empire vanished. The Germans elected their own kings. In the 10th century these were Saxons, in the 11th, Salians from Franconia, and in the 12th and 13th centuries, Hohenstaufen from Swabia. In the course of three and a half centuries, from these first beginnings until the downfall of the Stauffer House, seventeen emperors or kings ruled the German Empire: six Heinrichs, four Konrads, four Ottos, two Friedrichs, and one Lothar, and more than half of these left their mark on history. This empire of the Middle Ages presents a unique

series of monarchs of historical importance unequalled by any other dynasty. Its three ruling houses mark three attempts to recreate the Western Empire. Even as early as 962, the third king of the Germans, the Saxon Otto I, later called Otto the Great, revived the empire of Charlemagne. He crossed the Alps into Italy, which was riven with internal strife, and bequeathed to posterity the tale of the liberation of an imprisoned queen who rewarded him with her hand in marriage and the Langobard royal crown. Later he was crowned emperor in Rome. It was the crown of Charlemagne, a legacy of the Caesars. But the Empire was new. Henceforth the German kings would be emperors, and the kingdom of the German tribes the heart of this Empire binding together Germany, Italy, and soon the Burgundian realm on the Rhône and Saône. While Charlemagne's capital had been Aix-la-Chapelle, the new emperors resided in the Harz mountains or in the Palatinate. The cathedral at Speyer (Spire) was the burial place of the Salians. The Trifel mountains became the treasury of the Hohenstaufen. Soon men were speaking of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation".

This is one of the most revealing titles in European history. It signifies that this empire continues the tradition of the *imperium romanum*, the legacy of the unity of nations which the Romans fostered, but that the Germans and no longer the Romans are now the upholders of the principle.



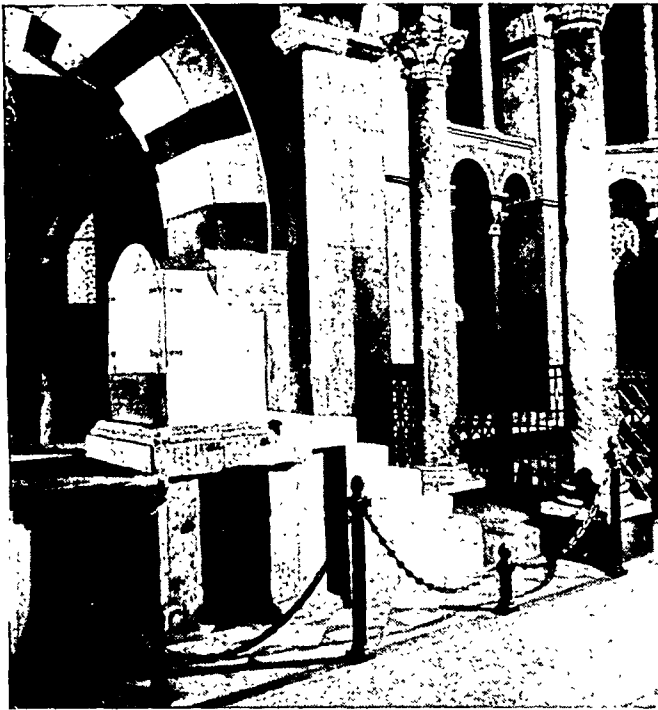
Aix-la-Chapelle, historic capital of Charlemagne. The Octagon, the original cathedral building in the Byzantine style of the 9th century, and the Chapel of St. Anne, added in the Gothic era



have once before relied upon the promises of your Majesty! But — ” “Hush! hush!” said the king, interrupting him, “I know what you are going to say; but do not disturb me with wills and retrospection of past irreparable injury.”

The death of the Earl of Halifax, soon after the close of the session in this year, caused a vacancy; and the Duke of Grafton returned to office, as keeper of the privy seal. His Grace was a particular favourite with the queen, but much disliked by the intelligent and reflecting part of the community.

The political atmosphere bore a gloomy aspect at the commencement of 1772, and petitions from the people were sent to the king and the two houses of Parliament, for the repeal of what they believed to be unjust and pernicious laws upon the subject of religious liberty. Several clergymen of the Established Church prayed to be liberated from their obligation to subscribe to the “Thirty-nine Articles.” But it was urged, in opposition to the petitions, that government had an undoubted right to establish and maintain such a system of instruction as the ministers thereof deemed most suitable for the public benefit. But expedience and right are as far asunder, in truth, as is the distance from pole to pole. The policy of the state required some new source from whence to draw means for the secret measures needful for prolonging the existence of its privacy; and it was,



*Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral: Charlemagne's Seat on the Imperial Dais*

At the same time, the epithet, "Holy", testifies to the Christian basis of this unity. Thus the name denotes simultaneously the inheritance of the *imperium*, the unity of Christendom and the elevation of the Germans. This trinity itself gives rise to tensions which again and again plunge the Empire into crises and conflicts until it finally collapses under the strain.

Nevertheless, the first century of this empire is a glorious chapter in history. True, there are defeats on the southern border of Lower Italy against the Arabs, who have carried their victorious campaign under the Prophet's flag up to Sicily and the Italian mainland, and unrest disturbs the Empire itself. But the first Saxon and Salian emperors are at the height of their power. The Pope crowns the emperor, but the emperors decide who shall be Pope, finding supporters against the German dukes and nobles among the archbishops and bishops whom they raise to the princely rank. These archbishops of Cologne, Trier, Mainz and the bishops of Wuerzburg and Augsburg are princes in clerical garb who reign like temporal lords over land and people, but yet depend upon the emperor in a different way from their secular counterparts. The official church is the mainstay of the Empire and a tool of the emperor. This leads to a bitter struggle between Empire and Papacy, as the Popes endeavor to bring the papal churches under their sole control. When Pope Gregory VII makes his energetic claim for ecclesiastical independence from the Empire and for papal sovereignty over the Church in opposition to Emperor Henry IV — a Shakespearean royal figure in German history — a contest begins that is to last for centuries. Europe sees excommuni-

icated emperors, exiled Popes, street battles before the Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome and burning castles in Germany. She sees Emperor Henry barefoot in a penitent's robe before the walls of the castle of Canossa, the fortress residence of the Pope, and, a few years later, the death of Gregory after his flight from the Emperor. For many years these upheavals typify the struggle between spiritual and temporal power in the Empire, and never again are emperors and Popes to remain in amity for any length of time. The rival Popes appointed by the emperors become as numerous as the rival kings chosen from among the princes. Time and again the Popes see the imperial army at the gates of Rome. The emperors are harassed by constant rebellion of princes and nobles in Germany. History becomes more dramatic than the inventions of any poet. The finale of the great struggle, the Hohenstaufen period of the Empire, is the most exciting and the most powerfully tragic act of all.

The Hohenstaufen Emperors, Frederic Barbarossa, Henry VI, and Frederic II, raised the Empire to its zenith by adding the Norman kingdom of Sicily and holding court in Palermo. But they lost Germany. Barbarossa could still vanquish Henry the Lion, the Guelph, but his grandson, Frederic II, had to relinquish his power in Germany to the nobles, becoming a southern prince in Sicily with a Saracen court and a modern political system — centuries in advance of its time — which he took over from the Normans and developed. All their lives, both grandfather and grandson had to contend with the Pope in Rome and with the rising merchant cities of Northern Italy. The grandfather made an armistice with both, the grandson died in battle against both, and the last Hohenstaufen lost the Empire's battle against both.

The last chapter of this history of a century of fierce struggles closes with Milan in flames, a Pope denouncing an emperor as Antichrist, imperial decrees enumerating the misdoings of the Popes, papal bulls being promulgated against the emperor, and, finally, with the last Hohenstaufen princes rotting in prison and the youthful Conradin being decapitated in Naples. All this happened long ago, as the family of Barbarossa reigned between 1150 and 1250. But few chapters in history are as replete with events and personalities, recording so much grandeur and misfortune, as these yellowed pages in the history of the German Empire of the Middle Ages. The urge to move south, which through centuries had led the emperors and their armies of nobles across Alpine passes into Italy, had turned to tragedy. Succeeding generations in Germany have therefore termed it a mistaken urge. But it must not be forgotten that this Empire maintained the tradition of European unity. The concept of "the Empire" survived and would continue to do so. It was the "Empire of the German Nation" that made French chroniclers ask the bitter question: "Who has placed the Germans as rulers over other

her peace than the former; for the duke had married a descendant of the Stuarts!

Lord Chatham made many representations to the king and queen of the improper and injudicious state of the penal laws. He cited an instance of unanswerable disproportion; namely, that, on the 14th of July, two persons were publicly whipped around Covent Garden market, in accordance with the sentence passed upon them; but mark the difference of the crimes for which they were so punished: one was for stealing a bunch of radishes; the other for debauching his own niece! In vain, however, did this friend of humanity represent the unwise, unjust, and inconsistent tenor of such laws. The king was anxious to alter them immediately; but the queen was decided in her opinion, that they ought to be left entirely to the pleasure and opinion of the judges, well knowing they would not disobey her will upon any point of law, or equity, so called. Thus did the nation languish under the tyrannical usurpation of a German princess, whose disposition and talents were much better calculated to give laws to the brute creation than to interfere with English jurisprudence.

In November of this year, it was announced that the king earnestly desired Parliament should take into consideration the state of the East India Company. But the king was ignorant of the subject; though, it was true, the queen desired



The "Bamberger Reiter" (Knight of Bamberg), equestrian statue of Emperor Conrad II, who died at Bamberg in 1139 and was buried in the cathedral.

nations?" But it would be wrong to see the Empire only as a manifestation of German imperialism. The emperors always considered themselves guardians of Christianity, and the firm distinction between the Empire and the German Kingdom, which was always maintained, proves that even contemporaries did not consider the Empire a larger German realm. Even in its violent struggle against the supreme secular authority, the Church always recognized this, and an age no longer nationalistic in outlook will learn to understand the importance of the Empire for European unity.

One of the most decisive developments of Germany's history in that eventful century, however, occurred outside the Empire: the occupation of the east between Elbe, Oder and Vistula; the eastern migration in German history.

In the course of the Great Migration, these areas had been inhabited by the German tribes who later continued their route southwards. Slav tribes then occupied the vacant lands. During the christianization of the area under the Saxon emperors, the great return from the West began. German princes, nobles and peasants settled in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg; German merchants founded Danzig; and the Teutonic Order, a spiritual confraternity of knights, established its state in East Prussia under

the Hohenstaufen. Upper Saxony came into being between the rivers Saale and Elbe; a fringe of German settlements grew up along the Sudeten Mountains up to the Carpathians; and the Bavarians occupied the Eastern Marches, later to be called Austria.

Sometimes it was settlement by the sword, but not always. Slav princes themselves, like the Piasten in Silesia and the Bohemian king, Ottokar, frequently invited German settlers and merchants onto the thinly populated land. Everywhere, old and new inhabitants mingled, so that the expression, "east German colonization", does not accord with the historical facts. This land east of the Elbe did not become a colony of the Germany west of the river. It was settled by pioneers, by the land-hungry and by a type of nomadic peasantry. Just as later the United States were to expand westwards, so Germany spread eastwards in the Middle Ages, establishing towns, villages and monasteries. There were no serfs. But soon there were Mecklenburgers, Brandenburgers, Silesians, and Saxons. These Saxons were those of modern Saxony, whereas the older ones now inhabit Lower Saxony. In those eastern lands lived knights with German and Slav ancestors, and old Germanic peasants. The king of the Bohemians, of Slav descent, became the chief temporal prince of the Empire, one of the seven who elected ("küren" is the old German word) the king of Germany and were therefore called "Kurfürsten" (Grand Electors). The prince of the Mark Brandenburg, another Grand Elector, attended the Reichstag (Diet) with knights whose very names betray their Slav origin; and German merchants became the founders of towns in this German East, building, not destroying, cities.

Three of the four temporal Electors of the Empire — the Bohemian, the Brandenburger and the Saxon — inhabited this new East. The new eastern land, Austria, became the mother country of an imperial race, the Hapsburgs; until the downfall of the Empire in Napoleonic times, the emperors were to come from Vienna, which is as much a product of the drive east as Königsberg, Berlin, Breslau and Dresden. But none of it is colonial territory. It is the development in German history comparable to the rise of the Middle West and the West Coast in American history. Whereas one occurred a century back in the United States, the other happened more than 500 years ago in Germany, in the migration of the Germans eastwards during the Middle Ages.

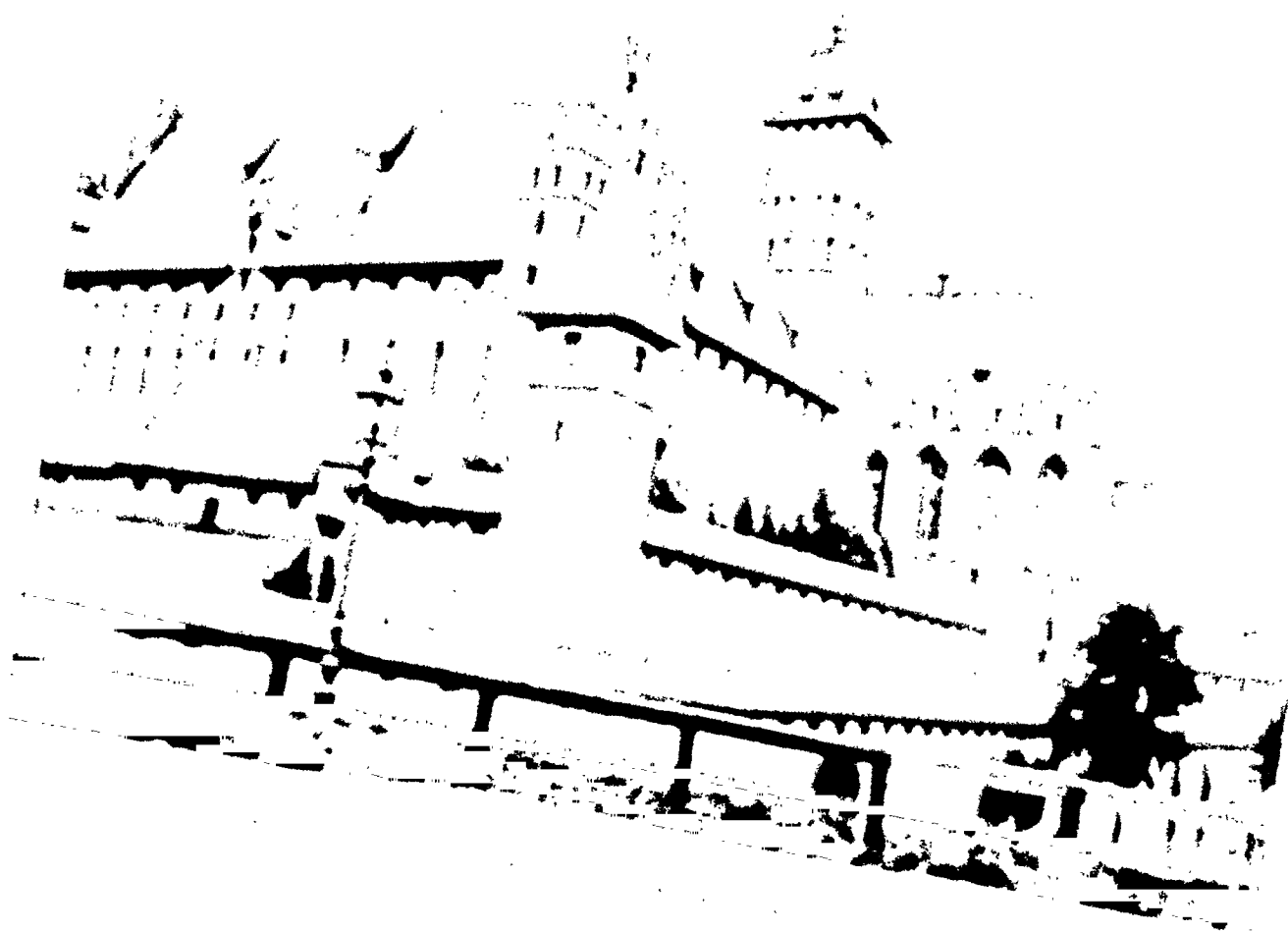
#### THE REVOLT OF CITIZENS AND PEASANTRY

Today, a visitor to Germany who strolls through the narrow streets of the small town of Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber re-enters the late Middle Ages. He encounters reminders in stone of the so-called Gothic era — the centuries between the last of the Hohenstaufen and the Reformation. Only the cathedrals of Mainz and Speyer, some abbeys,

mit to your opinion a few questions." "Quite right, quite right," said the king, "tell me all." The earl did so, and, after his faithful appeal to the king, concluded by saying, "My sovereign will excuse me, but I can no longer be a party to the deceptions pawned upon the people, as I am, and consider myself to be, amenable to God and my conscience!" Would that England had possessed a few more such patriots!

This year will ever be memorable in history as the commencement of that partition of Poland, between three contiguous powers, — Russia, Austria, and Prussia, — which has served as an example and apology for all those shameful violations of public right and justice that have stained the modern annals of Europe. The unfortunate Poles appealed in vain to Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the States General of Holland, on the atrocious perfidy and injustice of these proceedings. After some unavailing remonstrances, the Diet was compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to sign a treaty for the formal cession of the several districts which the three usurpers had fixed upon and guaranteed to each other. The partitioning legitimates also generously made a present of an aristocratic constitution to the suffering Poles.

In the year 1773, commercial credit was greatly injured by extensive failures in England and Holland. The distress and embarrassment of the



strong abhorrence of the measures adopted toward the Americans, justifying their resistance, and beseeching his Majesty to dismiss his ministers. The invisible power of the queen, however, prevented their receiving redress and the ministers were retained, contrary to all petition and remonstrance. Upon these occasions the king was obliged to submit to any form of expression dictated by the minister, that minister being under the entire control of the queen; and though the nation seemed to wear a florid countenance, it was sick at heart. Lord North was a very considerable favourite with her Majesty; while his opponents, Messrs. Fox and Burke, were proportionately disliked. The Duke of Grafton now felt tired of his situation, and told the queen that he could no longer continue in office; in consequence of which, the Earl of Dartmouth received the privy seal.

The Americans, in the meantime, were vigorously preparing for what they conceived to be inevitable—a war. Various attempts, notwithstanding, were made by the enlightened and liberal-minded part of the community to prevent ministers from continuing hostilities against them. That noble and persevering patriot, Lord Chatham, raised his warning voice against it. “I wish,” said he, “not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis; an hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity! Never will I desert, in any stage of its progress,

ranked above the House of Commons, whereas in medieval Germany, artisans governed in the councils of Strasbourg and Augsburg, with the nobles allowed but little say in the proceedings. It was a democracy of wealth, however. The rich merchants and artisans ruled the council, and the bourgeoisie of late medieval society formed the basis of those middle-class states whose wealth became symbolic of their time.

Nowadays Rothenburg is a small town, but it was formerly an outstanding center of commerce. Constance was a center of "entrepôt" trade; Augsburg was the "golden city" of the Fuggers and Welsers — the Rockefellers of the Middle Ages — who provided the financial support for emperors and Popes and determined the outcome of wars with their wealth. The Hanseatic League in the north had its counting houses in London and Norway and wielded no less power than Venice and Genoa — the masters of the Mediterranean — in the south. This old German bourgeoisie carried on world trade and international finance. Hanseatic barques ventured as far as Iceland, transports of merchandise from Augsburg crossed the Alps, the Fuggers ran banks in Rome; later, the Welsers even conquered Venezuela, and Augsburg at that time also experienced the first bank crash with all the accompanying incidents and consequences which were to become familiar in the 19th century.

Such was the bourgeois revolution of the Late Middle Ages which created a new world. Alpine peasants rose in revolt with the legendary William Tell as their symbol. He is a mythical figure. But the revolt of the peasants in the Gotthard valley against the Gesslers, the overseers of the Hapsburgs, was real. This was the genesis of a peasant democracy around the Vierwaldstaettersee and of a league of those peasant states with the imperial cities of Zurich and Berne and other cities. It was a confederacy — the form of union typical of that period; many such came into being, but this one alone endured for centuries to become the confederacy *par excellence*. The confederates were called "the Swiss" after one of their member states, Schwyz, and the Swiss became the supreme soldiers of the period, defeating one army of knights after another. Europe's nobles feared these peasants who had mastered their masters, and the Swiss came to embody the hopes of all men struggling against tyranny.

At the close of the Middle Ages there were many such peasants in German villages; they were to lead the only big peasants' revolt in Europe; the great Peasants' War of 1524—1525. Unsuccessful revolutions always retreat into the shadows, but this German peasants' revolt remains one of the most important in history — an eruption of democratic feeling and energy of primeval force nearly 500 years before our time.

Such revolutions are earthquakes with time fuses. Germany had been seething with this revolt for over

a hundred years. The entire 15th century, the heart of the Gothic age, was alive with revolutionary tensions. The towns echoed with the agitation of the "have-nots" — the small artisans — against the "haves" — the wealthy occupants of the council chamber. Journeymen went on strike — the first strikes in Europe — and secret societies of peasants were formed in the villages. Meanwhile, the ruling classes had become weak, and the Empire reached its lowest ebb at this period. After the decline of the Hohenstaufen, the imperial prerogative, passing to the Hapsburgs, became a mere shadow. The emperor moved about the country almost like a pauper, for the princes had usurped all power. But there were many princes, and the authority of each did not extend far. Nearly every nobleman in his castle was a puppet king without money, turning robber baron and plundering convoys of merchandise. Feuds went on incessantly, villages were set afire, castles and towns besieged. Cruelty was the norm, gallows stood at the gates of every city, executioners were busy, the torture chambers full. No man's life or property was safe, for even the judges were known to be rogues. And the Gothic cathedrals, those medieval skyscrapers, remained uncompleted; for such anarchy impoverished the towns.

As the 15th century drew to a close, the lightning flashes of rebellion increased in frequency. The Hussites, the revolutionaries of Bohemia, invaded German territory; in a monastery cell in Basle, an unknown author wrote a manifesto of social upheaval that equalled in its dynamic and extreme effects on medieval society the impact of the Communist Manifesto on the 19th century. There were uprisings in city and country; thousands gathered mysteriously round a speaker and disappeared again into the shadows, dispersed by watchmen. There is no doubt that one generation before the Peasants' War a close-knit secret group, the "Bundschuh", was operating throughout Southern Germany. Its recruiting agents travelled the highways with itinerant folk; its leaders spread fiery slogans and held the organization together. When the moment was ripe, the peasants in Southern Germany rose as one man against their masters.

This Peasants' War was no rebellion but a revolution of the "common man" who wanted to found a society of commoners. This rabble of peasants, sacking citadels, invading towns, and besieging castles, intended to abolish the aristocracy, expel the princes, and establish a peasant regime in the Empire. Among them were extremists who decreed that no house was to be built higher than a peasants' house. Every nobleman joining the peasants' cause had to relinquish his privileges, just as marquis became plain citizen during the French Revolution. Common good before individual advantage was the order of the day. Rumors were abroad that all rulers were to be killed, that the



with America prove this year, that more than nine millions were supplied for its service. In order to raise this shameful amount extra taxes were levied on newspapers, deeds, and other matters of public utility. Thus were the industrious and really productive classes imposed upon and their means exhausted to gratify the inordinate wishes of a German princess, now entitled to be the cause of their misery and ruin. The queen knew that war required soldiers and sailors, and that these soldiers and sailors must have officers over them, which would afford her an opportunity of selling commissions or of bestowing them upon some of her favourites. So that these things contributed to her Majesty's individual wealth and power, what cared she for the increase of the country's burdens!

It is wonderful to reflect upon the means with which individuals in possession of power have contrived, in all ages and in all countries, to control mankind. From thoughtlessness and the absence of knowledge the masses of people have been made to contend, with vehemence and courageous enterprise, against their own interests, and for the benefit of those mercenary wretches by whom they have been enslaved! How monstrous it is that, to gratify the sanguinary feelings of one tyrant, thousands of human beings should go forth to the field of battle as willing sacrifices! Ignorance alone has produced such lamentable results; for



*Eberbach Monastery (near Frankfurt): Old wine-press in the cellar of the cistercian abbey, founded in 1131*

poor would become rich, the rich poor, and that all debts and interest would be abolished. But, rejecting these extremist views, the leaders of the peasant bands aimed at a community of commoners without feudal power, a program for democracy within the feudal world. For a brief moment it seemed as if that democracy might take shape in Germany — over 250 years before the Bill of Rights in North America and the French Revolution.

For the princes had few mercenaries, whereas the peasants constituted the masses. At the height of the war, South Germany was flooded with them. The large towns were like islands in this revolutionary ocean, their citizens anxiously trying to avoid conflict with the peasants with whom the bourgeoisie sympathized. The strongholds of the princes were confined to a few bastions isolated by the peasants (among them, Hohensalzburg, familiar today to every tourist in Germany). But the recruiting of the lansquenets (foot soldiers) by the rich cities marked the turning point: when they attacked the peasant hordes, the war was lost. It ended with the massacre of the defeated rebels, groups of hangmen raiding the villages, and corpses dangling in rows from the trees lining the highways. The revolution collapsed and the peasants relapsed into servitude and apathy for centuries to come.

Democracy in Europe had lost a decisive battle. On the farms and in the cities, the common man was silenced after this blood-letting. But the first democratic revolution in Europe was neither the English nor the French, but the German revolution. In its day, it had no counterpart in any other country.

Its deep roots lay in the German tradition of freedom. The words of a Frenchman — that freedom came from the German forests — which were to be proved true in the American and English revolutions, had already stood the test in this oldest German democratic revolution. That Germany of long ago was a volcano of defiant love of liberty until defeat extinguished it.

### THE GREAT RELIGIOUS SCHISM

The Peasants' War, the close of a revolutionary era, receded into history. The Reformation, which originated in the same decade, began a development that was to influence German history for centuries. Today the Peasants' War is a thing of the past, whereas the Reformation is still a living force. It is therefore wise to regard it as a new chapter in German history, although it is also the last act of the Gothic epoch. Martin Luther, the reformer, had many forerunners. The reform of the Church had been the subject of disputes long before Professor Luther, miner's son and Augustinian monk, nailed his theses — which were to become the birth certificate of the German Reformation — on the church door of Wittenberg castle, the residence of the Grand Elector of Saxony.

The nailing of this parchment was to the Reformation what the storming of the Bastille was to the French Revolution. History books like to see obvious causes leading to great events, but history itself unfolds less dramatically. Pope Leo in Rome, who attributed such little importance to a monk in faraway North Germany protesting against the sale of indulgences, was no more stupid than the French king who thought the storming of the Bastille a mere revolt. Many such storms have arisen without bringing revolutions in their train. There have been many acts such as that in Wittenberg without the birth of a new church. Only when such deeds are the sparks in a powder keg do explosions occur that echo through history; and in this case Martin Luther held the match to the powder keg.

There had long been anti-papal and anti-clerical ferment in Germany. Much has been argued and written about whether or not the complaints and accusations of the reformers against Pope, priests, and monks were justified, partly justified, or baseless, but the fact remains that the Church, having become a worldly power and a landowner, demanded spiritual power at the same time. The peasant railed against the priest who was also his creditor; the burgher grumbled at the bishop who laid an interdict on his city for not paying its taxes in full. To the common man the Church had become a treasury, the priest was a privileged person who could only be tried before his own courts, the monks appeared as greedy idlers, the bishops as noblemen disguised in clerical garb. The Pope in Rome was far away and, so one heard, only interested in money. No one will deny that in Luther's day the Church had become a financial

resist the tide of German despotism. Had unity and resolution been the watchwords of the sons of Britain, what millions of debt might have been prevented, what oceans of blood might have been saved! The iniquitous ministers who dictated war with America should have suffered as traitors to their country, which would have been their fate had not blind ignorance and servility, engendered by priests and tyrants through the impious frauds of Church and state, overwhelmed the better reason of the great mass of mankind! It was, we say, priestcraft and statecraft that kindled this unjustifiable war in order to lower human nature, and induce men to butcher each other under the most absurd, frivolous, and wicked pretences. Englishmen, at the commencement of the American war, appear to have been no better than wretched captives, without either courage, reason, or virtue, from whom the queen's banditti of gaolers shut out the glorious light of day. There were, however, some few patriots who raised their voices in opposition to the abominable system then in practice, and many generous-hearted men who boldly refused to fight against the justified resistance of the Americans; but the general mass remained inactive, cowardly inactive, against their merciless oppressors. The queen pretended to lament the sad state of affairs, while she did all in her power to continue the misrule.

religious fanatics and sectarians of every ilk. An iconoclastic storm swept bare the richly decorated churches, while in the chancelleries the Reformation became a part of diplomatic intrigue.

Here, the Reformation threatened to turn into a flood; there, into a swamp breeding strange exotic plants of politico-religious logomachy. The father of the Reformation became its saviour by damming the flood and keeping it separate from the secular social revolution. Undoubtedly, Martin Luther was the greatest revolutionary personality in the Germany of old, a born leader and man of the people. His pamphlets are classics of revolutionary writing, his oratory echoes in the heart of the common man, and it was his work that made the Reformation a national movement. The "easy-living flesh of Wittenberg", as Luther was called by his bitter enemy, Thomas Münzer, was a demon of passion, a precipitous character. But this passion concerned religion, not earthly life; and with the same uncompromising firmness with which Luther fought for his faith, he rejected the identification of the religious struggle with the social revolution. He wrote a pastoral letter against the peasant armies, thereby saving the Reformation from being vanquished with them. He made common cause with the nobles, and thus upheld the Reformation against the emperor who had outlawed him.

The Reformation in Germany assumed the form of a national church, and it must be remembered that the imperial cities and republics, too, became strongholds of the new faith. For this reason, the Reformation has been criticized for having become not a church of the people but a state church, linking throne and altar in support of monarchy and authority. Calvinism, the second Reformation, was to choose another path. But the English Reformation followed the same road towards the Anglican Church. In Martin Luther's eyes, the Church does not support the rulers, but the rulers the Church. Few men in those days spoke so bitterly of the princes as Luther. He considered them "God's bailiffs", the bearers of the symbolic sword of justice necessary in life on this earth, but not the blessed of the Lord. Martin Luther was a pessimist convinced of the sinfulness of Man, but no vassal of any prince. The alliance between the Reformation and the princes and city magistrates was necessary in an age in which authority reigned supreme. To have made common cause with the revolution would have transformed the Gospel into a war cry of social upheaval, whereas Luther never sought the salvation of the Christian on earth.

Christ's words, "My kingdom is not of this world", lie at the very heart of the Reformation. The indifference of the old Lutheran Church towards social conditions represented no inferiority complex. It was the natural outcome of the belief that Christ heals the souls of men and accepts the evil of earthly existence as a passing trial. It is impossible to understand the essence of the German

Reformation without comprehending Luther's other-worldly religious faith, which was as much aware of the evils of this world as it was convinced that they were unimportant in relation to the only concern of the Christian: to win heaven.

The Reformation was a fundamental phenomenon of German religious and spiritual, but not of social, history. With the emergence of the state church and the city-state church, it became German national history within national frontiers. The old and the new faiths soon followed the borders of the principalities. The religious persuasion of the ruler determined that of his subjects. The religious truce attained after thirty years of indecision by the princes decreed: "Cuius regio, eius religio": religion according to reign. Even in 19th century Germany, one village will be Catholic because its ruler was not converted in the 16th century, while a city will be predominantly Protestant because its council supported the Reformation. To this day Northern Germany is overwhelmingly Protestant, Southern Germany and the Rhineland mainly Catholic, because the Reformation conquered Northern Germany almost completely but made small progress in the south and west.

The struggle in Germany between the old and new faiths was decided in those first decades for centuries to come. Spreading from north to south and west, the Reformation won over Saxony, Brandenburg, the Guelph country, the Hanseatic cities, many South German imperial cities, the Duchy of Wuerttemberg, and the Palatinate. The Counter Reformation, the revival of the old church, thrusting from the south northwards, finally established itself in Bavaria, and in the Frankish, Rhenish, and Westphalian bishoprics. One glance at a map of Germany today showing the distribution of the population according to religion discloses that this map was largely drawn as early as the 16th century.

Protestant Hamburg, Catholic Cologne, Protestant old Wuerttemberg, and Catholic Upper Swabia — all these concepts — still valid today in many respects in German political and religious life — were decided four centuries ago, long before Germany's great religious war, the Thirty Years' War, which did not greatly modify the decisions of the first hour.

### THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

There is something very strange about religious wars in European history. "The Age of Religious Wars" makes a good chapter heading in a history book. Closer observation soon reveals, however, that many other matters besides religion are at issue. The great German religious struggle, the Thirty Years' War, the worst disaster in German history until World War II, began not only with the Reformation, but, simultaneously, with the election of the World Emperor Charles V to the throne of the Empire.

to supply the consequent deficiency; new taxes were again levied upon the people; for ministers carried all their bills, however infamous they might be, by large majorities.

In May Lord Chatham again addressed the "peers," and called their attention to the necessity of changing the proceedings of government. Although bowed down by age and infirmity, and bearing a crutch in each hand, he delivered his sentiments, with all the ardour of youth, in these words: "I wish the removal of accumulated grievances and the repeal of every oppressive act which has been passed since the year 1763. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises, but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment."

On another occasion, he said: "I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace! It is necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth! We must dispel the delusions and darkness which envelop it. I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to permit me to say less." Alas! this patriot stood nearly alone. In his opinion, the good of the people was the supreme law; but this was opposed to the sentiments of the hirelings of state and their liberal mistress.

As a last effort, the earl resolved to seek an audience of the queen, and the request was readily complied with. The day previous to his last

treachery on all sides. The Europe of 1600 strikingly resembles Europe before the outbreak of World War I. The great war casts its shadow before it. Armies are being equipped, secret treaties are being concluded, crises arise, but no war breaks out. The murder of Henry IV of France causes the already advancing army of the anti-Hapsburg coalition to retreat once more and postpones the great war by a decade until the "defenestration of Prague" in 1618 becomes for the Thirty Years' War what the murder in Serajevo is to be for the World War of 1914.

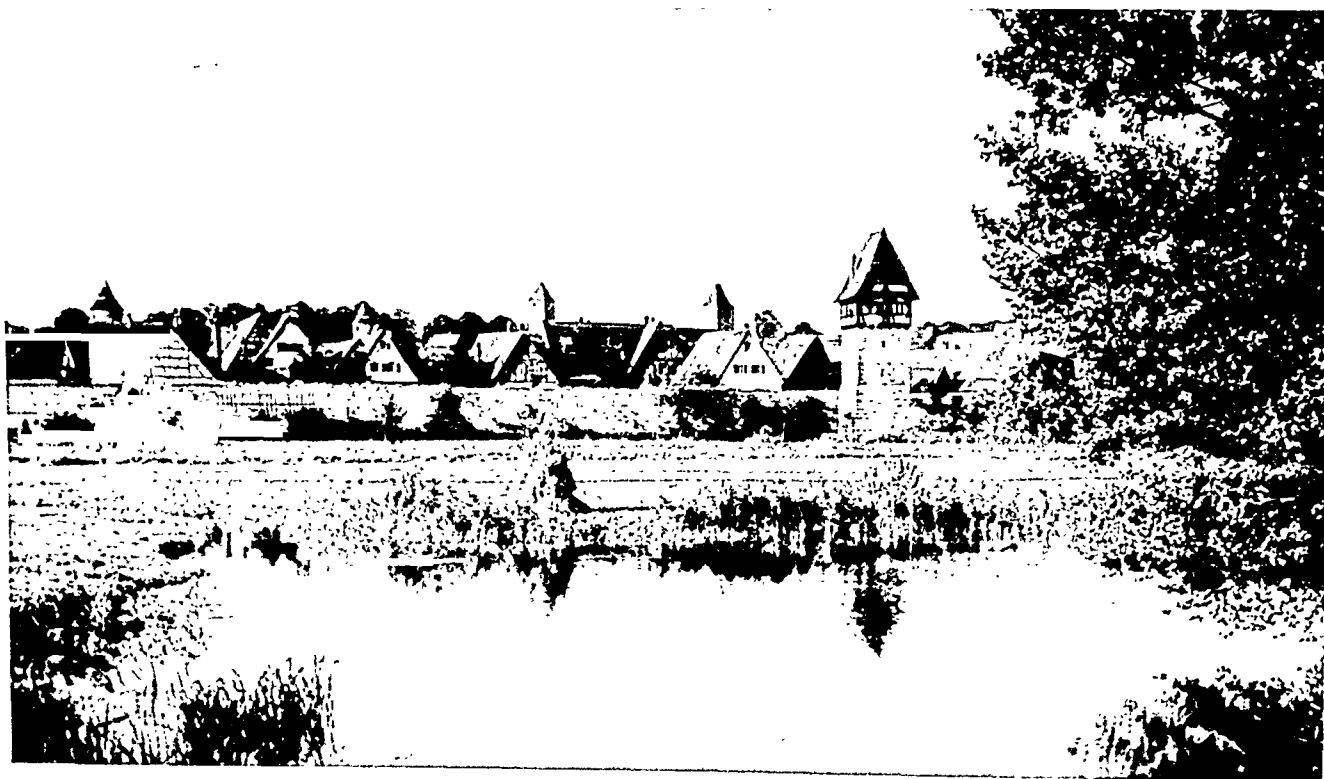
It was no more a coincidence that the spark was struck in Bohemia than that World War I broke out in the Balkans. Bohemia, a country with a numerous protestant nobility, was the Achilles heel of the Hapsburg front. For fifteen years, plans had been maturing to seize the province from the emperors. They were hatched particularly in Heidelberg, residence of the Electors of the Palatinate, the leaders of the Calvinists in Germany, and their councillors, who had a finger in every intrigue. Whoever visits the ruins of Heidelberg castle today should know that when this proud palace towered in the land, history was made within its walls, and that the couriers of Queen Elizabeth, the Huguenots, the Dutch, the preachers in Geneva, and the emigrants from Hapsburg territories passed through its antechambers.

At last the hour struck. The Elector of the Palatinate, who had become the son-in-law of the King of England, was elected King of the Bohemians and

arrived in Prague. This was the signal for action against the Hapsburgs. The Thirty Years' War began when the Bohemian grandees threw the Hapsburg governors out of the window of the conference room of the Hradschin Palace. The victims broke their fall on bales of straw — but thirty years of tragedy were to follow this comedy. The chain reaction sets in. The Hapsburg Emperor, Ferdinand II, orders his troops to march on Prague together with those of the German catholic princes. The Palatinate king, soon to be known as the "Winter King" after a reign lasting only one winter, is defeated; he flees into exile accompanied by many of the nobles. Others, however, are ceremoniously executed in the Altstaedter market in Prague, and for a decade their heads grimly decorate the bridges over the Moldau river.

The prelude in Bohemia was now over, and the curtain could rise on the tragedy in Germany proper. Spaniards invaded the Palatinate under the Hapsburg flag, and the first *condottieri* began to appear on the scene. This great war was to be their great hour. The Danish king's campaign to aid the princes of the Palatinate was the first foreign intervention. King and *condottieri* were defeated, and the new imperial marshal, Wallenstein, drew a searing rake of war through Germany up to the North Sea.

It is strange that Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, has not become a film hero like so many other famous personages in history. All the elements of an effective film scenario are here present: camps



*Middle Franconia, Dinkelsbuehl on the Voernitz. View of the city from the Southeast. In the right foreground, the old tower built before 1490.*

on the 10th of May, 1778, this venerable and noble friend of humanity expired, in the seventieth year of his age.

The news of the earl's death was not disagreeable to the queen ; and she thenceforth determined to increase, rather than decrease, her arbitrary measures. Ribbons, stars, and garters were bestowed upon those who lent their willing aid to support her system of oppression, while thousands were perishing in want to supply the means.

Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, this year, were servile enough to raise regiments at their own expense ; but the independent and brave citizens of London, steady to their principles, that the war was unjust, refused to follow so mean an example.

The year 1779 exhibits a miserable period in the history of Ireland. Her manufactures declined, and the people became, consequently, much dissatisfied ; but their distresses were, at first, not even noticed by the English Parliament. At length, however, an alarm of invasion took place, and ministers allowed twenty thousand Irish volunteers to carry arms. The ministers, who before had been callous to their distresses, found men in arms were not to be trifled with, and the Irish people obtained a promise of an extension of trade, which satisfied them for the time.

Large sums were again required to meet the expenses of the American war, and, the minister





of that oppressed people never appeared to greater advantage than at this period, as even this resolution was received by them with the warmest testimonies of joy and gratitude.

There cannot be a doubt that, if the Irish had been honestly represented, their honour and ardour would have been proverbial ; but they have almost always been neglected and insulted. The queen had taken Lord North's advice, and acquainted herself with the native character of the Irish, by which she became aware that, if that people generally possessed information, they would prove a powerful balance against the unjust system then in force. At this time, there was not an Irishman acquainted with any state secrets ; her Majesty, therefore, did not fear an explanation from that quarter, or she dare not have so oppressed them.

To provide for the exigencies of state, twelve millions of money, in addition to the former fifteen millions, were required this year ; and thus were the sorrows of a suffering people increased, and they themselves forced to forge their own chains of oppression.

Numerous were the prosecutions against the press this year ; among the rest, Mr. Parker, printer of *The General Advertiser*, was brought before the "House of Hereditaries," for publishing a libel on one of its noble members. That there were a few intelligent and liberal-minded men in the House of Lords at this time, we do

generals at the time of the Treaties of Westphalia returned as marshals to the battlefields in Flanders and on the Rhine, and the Palatinate experienced devastation of "scorched earth" even worse than that of the Thirty Years' War. After throwing off the encircling chains of Hapsburg rule from Belgium to the Pyrenees, the new world power, France, rapidly grew into the greatest force on the continent, pushing northwards and eastwards. French regiments invaded Holland and marched to the Rhine. Three European wars followed at short intervals. Peace was little more than a truce between battles, and, of forty years, nearly thirty were taken up by war.

At the same time, Turkish armies were attacking the Empire from the east. Since the Reformation, the shadow of the Turkish Empire, which had in the meantime conquered Hungary, had lain over Germany. Now a new campaign followed under the energetic ruler in Istanbul. While the imperial city of Strasbourg on the Rhine was paying homage to the French crown, the Turkish army laid siege to Vienna.

The tale has often been told of how signals from the besieged, oppressed, and starving city constantly, desperately, called for help, and of how the defenders kept anxious watch for the relieving armies from the tower of St. Stephen's Cathedral, until at the last minute, the imperial forces and the Poles arrived to defeat the Turks in the battle of the Kahlenberg. But a dramatic battle was not the only thing at stake. The rapid rise of the Hapsburgs towards the acquisition of an eastern empire began that day. While the Hapsburgs were fading out in Madrid, they created in Vienna a new empire during the Turkish wars by reconquering Hungary and acquiring Milan, Venice, and Brussels from the Spanish estate.

The Turkish and French wars combine in a kaleidoscope of campaigns. The famous Hapsburg marshal of the period, Prince Eugene of Savoy, fights and wins on battlefields throughout Europe, and the Hapsburgs, not the Bourbons, are the great victors of this period of wars. The great coalition of England, Holland, and the Empire against Louis XIV repels the French attack. The struggle for the Spanish Kingdom after the fall of the Hapsburgs in Madrid ends with a Bourbon in the Escorial, but the Sun King in Versailles dies in the gloom of an exhausted nation shorn of its glory. Many historians believe that this makes Louis XIV the father of the French Revolution.

At the opening of the 18th century, the map of Europe took on a new aspect. The Spanish Empire was dying, that of England in the ascendant; and in Europe, France and the Hapsburgs faced each other as rivals, with Russia rising in the east under Peter the Great. But between them, Prussia was beginning to go her own way. Prussia was the new-comer among these powers. Not until the first years of the 18th century did the Hohenzollerns, rulers of the

Mark Brandenburg and of the former state of the Teutonic Order in East Prussia, become kings. In European chancelleries, many sarcastic remarks were made about this new kingdom which appeared to have little force to back its claim to a voice in the affairs of the nations. East Prussia lay well away from the center of political interest, the Mark Brandenburg was called the "sand box" of the Holy Roman Empire, and the king of the Saxons and Poles, August the Strong, in Dresden, outshone in every respect his new royal colleague Frederic in Berlin, whose ancestor, Frederic William, founder of the family's greatness, had only been an Elector — although admittedly the Great Elector. While the Bavarian Elector was in a position to attempt to seize the imperial crown, the Hohenzollerns, compared to the Wettiners and Wittelsbachs, were almost poor relations.

The Hapsburgs in Vienna, however, with unerring political instinct, opposed the coronation of a Hohenzollern. For the improbable was to happen. At the end of the century, Prussia had become one of the great powers and the strongest state in the Empire next to Austria. The stars had not foretold this rise. Two monarchs in Berlin, Frederic William I, and his son, the warrior king, Frederic the Great, were responsible for it. The father created the Prussian army; the son led it into battle. There is no doubt that Prussia's rise was due to her army, but this is no Prussian peculiarity. France, too, had risen to greatness on the battlefield, and naval battles were the milestones along England's road to power. The wars of Frederic the Great were no private Prussian wars but part of the great Franco-British struggle in the 18th century. Frederic's only armed conquest of a territory was Silesia, won from Austria in the same century in which England acquired Canada and India by force.

In the age of standing armies now opening, the Prussian army was not exceptional in size or character. The aristocracy of every kingdom, not only the Prussian, served in the army, barbaric discipline was the rule everywhere, and the English sailors were just as much bullied and beaten as the soldiers in Frederic's regiments. Contemporaries did not consider the Prussian army a monstrosity. They only wondered that such a small and impoverished country could raise such a force. Here lay the uniqueness of Prussia and her army. Other nations had more people, more land, and more money. Besides the army, they possessed a prosperous economy, a rich aristocracy and a strong bourgeoisie. Prussia had none of these. She possessed only the army, which became representative of the state. The nobility formed the officer corps, the peasants were the soldiers, and the middle class footed the bill: all served the army. There were no more barracks in Prussia than in other countries, but there was much less besides those barracks in Prussia than elsewhere, so that the army touched the lives of all. Prussia became a

make it necessary, but not against the people. This is the distinction and this the meaning of privilege. The people are under the law, and we are the legislators. If they offend, let them be punished according to law, where we have our remedy. If we are injured in our reputations, the law has provided us with a special remedy. We are entitled to the action of *scandalum magnatum*, — a privilege peculiar to ourselves. For these reasons, then, my lords, when the noble earl made his motion for the printer to be brought before this House, and when the end of that motion was answered by the author of the paper complained of giving up his name, I was in great hopes that the motion would have been withdrawn. I am sorry it was not; and yet, when I say this, I do not mean to wish that an inquiry into the merits of that paper should not be made. As it stands at present, the noble lord accused therein is the disgrace of this House, and the scandal of government. I therefore trust, for his own honour, for the honour of this House, that that noble lord will not object to, but will himself insist upon, the most rigid inquiry into his conduct.

“But, my lords, to call for a printer, in the case of a libel, when he gives up his author (although a modern procedure), is not founded in law; for in the statute of Westminster, the 1st, Chapter 34, it is said, ‘None shall report any false and slanderous news or tales of great men, whereby any discord

military state because the entire energies of the country, its poverty and exiguity notwithstanding, were directed into the army in order to make the nation a power among the Great Powers.

It may be questioned whether this goal was desirable. For Frederick the Great there was no question, but a certainty. To ask what would have happened if a certain event in history had not occurred seems naive to historians. One must say, however, that German and European history would surely have taken another course had not Frederick II appeared on the Prussian scene or had he been a different person.

It is difficult to describe what sort of a person he was. In some history books he is the hero of his time and nation; in others, the Satan of Europe. The liberals of later generations have called him a despotic exponent of absolutism, yet he was a friend of Voltaire, and the French pioneers of Enlightenment made him their patron and king of the movement. His regime, later often called most reactionary, appears extremely modern in its battle against the reactionaries of the time, and the men of the French Revolution wanted to elect a Prussian general their supreme commander because he was the disciple of Frederick.

What then was Frederick of Prussia? He was undoubtedly an absolute king, no rarity in 18th century Europe, when the cabinet decrees of the "People's Emperor", Joseph II in Vienna, were no less authoritarian than those of Potsdam. He was an ambitious king and a monarch of the battlefields; yet "Old Fritz" drew the sword only once in two decades — and then only symbolically — while England, France, Austria, and Russia merrily waged war. The image of Frederick of Prussia as the war lord of his century is a creation of his successors. But to his contemporaries he was an almost legendary figure, as the king at the head of his troops in battle, under fire, and at the front. As king and field marshal, he fights the battle of his life in his last and greatest war, the Seven Years' War with Austria, which drives him to the edge of the precipice and almost to suicide, and leaves him to return home as an old man to his castle of Sanssouci, near Potsdam.

This king, who played the flute and flashed the sword, who was imprisoned by his father and almost offered Europe the spectacle of a beheaded crown prince, who withstood a coalition of France, Austria and Russia and enjoyed European fame in his old age, will always arouse the curiosity of men. He will forever remain one of the striking figures of his epoch.

But for his own time, his struggle with the Hapsburgs for Silesia was but one act in the Franco-British contest for world supremacy. His three Silesian wars coincided with and were determined by two Franco-British wars, and Prussia's rise to power is closely linked with the rise of the British Empire. Silesia was conquered in Canada and Canada in Silesia.

Silesia was won in the struggle against Maria Theresa, the great Hapsburg empress. It is a strange fact that Prussia and Austria fought their first war under their greatest monarchs. Maria Theresa made the archdynasty in Vienna a German one. Her predecessors and ancestors were hardly distinguishable from their cousins in Madrid, and appeared strangely Spanish to the Germans. The young Maria Theresa, assuming a crown greedily coveted on all sides, threatened by Prussia, Bavaria and France, became the greatest ruler in German history — a true woman, mother and empress. Under her, Austria assumed its historical role. Austria and Prussia simultaneously constituted the two great powers in the German sphere that were henceforth to influence Germany's fate.

In late 18th century Germany, however, swarms of small states crowded around these two giants. Even today the numerous small castles in minor German cities show how many puppet kings existed in Germany. They were everywhere, those vest-pocket monarchs with their retinue, from Lord High Chamberlain to stable boys, living in style in their castles, hunting lodges and summer residences on the model of Versailles or Trianon. Germany became rich in castles, but they comprised her sole



*Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Franconia): One of the finest medieval German towns. Roedergasse with St. Marc's Tower.*

a jurisdiction too summary for the freedom of our constitution, and incompatible with liberty. It takes away the trial by jury; which king, lords, and commons, have not a right to do. It is to make us accusers, judges, jury, and executioners too, if we please. It is to give us an executive power, to which, in our legislative capacities, we are not entitled. It is to give us a power which even the executive power itself has not, which the prerogative of the Crown dare not assume, which the king himself cannot exercise. My lords, the king cannot touch the hair of any man's head in this country, though he be guilty of high treason, but by means of the law. It is the law that creates the offence; it is a jury that must determine the guilt; it is the law that affixes the punishment; and all other modes of proceeding are illegal. Why then, my lords, are we to assume to ourselves an executive power, with which even the executive power itself is not entrusted? I am aware, my lords, it will be said that this House, in its capacity of a court of justice, has a right to call for evidence at its bar, and to punish the witness who shall not attend. I admit it, my lords; and I admit it not only as a right belonging to this House, but as a right essential to every court of justice; for, without this right, justice could not be administered. But, my lords, was this House sitting as a court of justice (for we must distinguish between our judicial and our legislative capacities) when Mr. Parker was ordered to

wealth. In her confined situation between the Great Powers, no prosperous economic life could develop. Old imperial cities whose names once resounded through Europe shrank to village size; poverty stalked the streets; life was still tolerable for the great, but hard for the people. At the turn of the 18th century, the first Germans from the Palatinate and the river Mosel escaped from the misery of the French wars and emigrated to America. By the end of that century, German mercenaries, lent by their princes to England, were fighting in the American War of Independence.

They were called Hessians, because a Landgrave of Hesse was the prime mover in this slave trade. Young men were seized in the streets, turned into soldiers, and transferred to the British army in return for ready money paid to the princes. The landgraves built palaces while their subjects bled in a strange land for a foreign cause. Absolutism is no German invention. It came from the Spain of Philip II to the Bourbons in France, and from there to Germany. Yet it took on its most tragic form in Germany, because it became most oppressive in this world of miniature states. A pint-sized absolute monarch is a contemptible sight, and this pigmy world developed to a special degree that submissiveness to every authority which is the curse of absolutism. German particularism, not absolutism alone, created humility before royalty, servility towards officials, and the regimentation of everyday life.

None of this had existed in the old Germany. Absolute power wielded by monarch and bureaucracy were not the ancient German tradition. Only after the Thirty Years' War did the German bow his head — engulfed by misery and pettiness, thwarted in his impulses, every great idea stifled within narrow confines. German particularism — praised as the stronghold of German freedom — became the cradle of German servitude.

## NAPOLEON IN GERMANY

1789 marks no outstanding year in German history. Psychologists and students of national character have considered this fact to be proof of innate German submissiveness. Such reasoning is not justified. Those history books which are more than popular picture pages have generally propagated the idea that the French Revolution was not a spontaneous cry of the people "in tyrannos", but the revolt of the rising and newly powerful middle class against the rule of the aristocracy in state and society. Such a middle class, however, did not exist in the Germany of 1789. Would the French Revolution have occurred without Paris as the center of power? There was no Paris in the German Empire, although, on the eve of 1789, in Berlin and Vienna, there were strong and progressive monarchs like Emperor Joseph II, the revolutionary in purple, while the country of Louis XIV had a weak king and was experiencing a return to the

old-fashioned type of monarchy. Just as a storm hardly penetrates thick undergrowth, so the Revolution did not blow through the ticket of the German miniature states.

Some intellectual circles in Germany sympathized with the men and ideas of 1789, just as the revolutionaries made Schiller an honorary citizen. But the German middle class had already made its great revolution centuries before, at the time of the emergence of the free city states: the citizen states. In 1789 it was torpid and weak; without power the bourgeoisie cannot make a revolution. The French Revolution penetrated into Germany only at the point of the bayonet, when the revolutionaries introduced themselves to the Germans as soldiers and conquerors, and the French Revolution became for Germany a feature of the revolutionary war.

There was fighting again in Belgium and along the Rhine, the old battlefields of the era of Louis XIV. The revolutionary armies fought not only for the Rights of Man but also for the expansion of France up to the Rhine. They were the heirs of Louis XIV but yet more fortunate than he. Where he failed, they succeeded; not least owing to the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, they conquered the land on the left bank of the Rhine.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Cologne and Mayence (Mainz) had become French, and the victor and executor of the French Revolution, Napoleon Bonaparte, had obtained the title Louis XIV never acquired: master of Europe and founder of a new empire — a new European empire. Napoleon led the French Revolution to victory — and then suppressed it. The Jacobin general became emperor; the Robespierre on horseback was now a Caesar. For over a generation Europe remained Napoleonic, thanks to the sword. Three wars were necessary to conquer Austria; Napoleon twice entered Vienna as a victorious leader. Overaged generals, outdated tactics, and faulty organization brought the almost immediate collapse of Prussia. The minor kings and princes in Germany saved their skins by allying themselves with the victor in the "Rheinbund" (Confederation of the Rhine). The Hapsburgs drew the logical conclusion by relinquishing the imperial crown and elevating Austria to the status of an independent empire. Henceforth, there will be an emperor of Austria face to face with Napoleon, but no longer an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This has ceased to exist.

It had endured 850 years, or, if one counts from Charlemagne onwards, a full millenium. It was a "Thousand Year Empire". Its traces cannot disappear from western history; the concept of an empire inseparably belongs to it and to German history. The formation of the universal empire of the Hapsburgs at the dawn of modern times had been achieved under these auspices; even Napoleon, associating his empire with that of Charle-

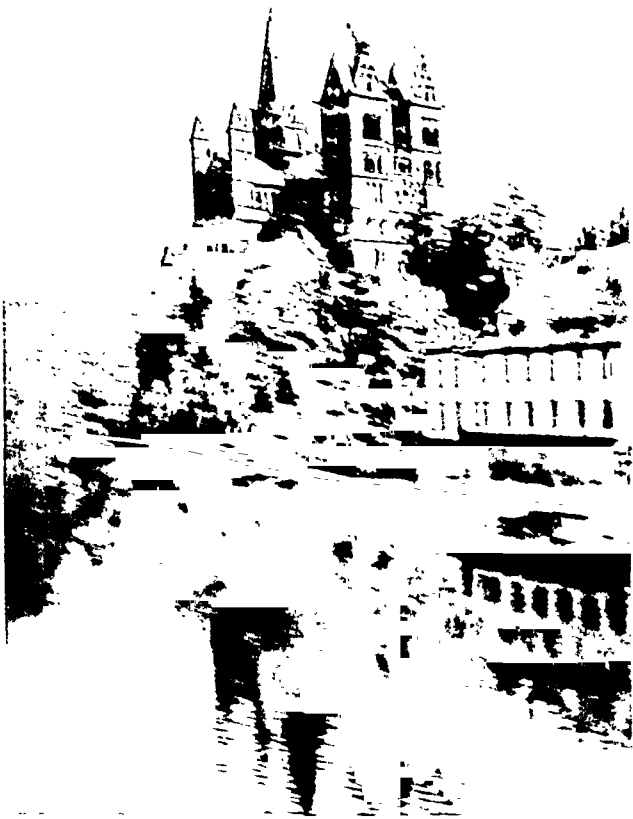
lordships, 'that the body of W. Parker, printer of *The General Advertiser*, be released from the custody of the gentleman usher of the black rod, and that the order for the said Parker, being brought to the bar of this House, be now discharged.'

"Before I sit down, I will just observe to your lordships, that I know that precedents may be adduced in contradiction to the doctrine I have laid down. But, my lords, precedents cannot make that legal and constitutional which is, in itself, illegal and unconstitutional. If the precedents of this reign are to be received as precedents in the next, the Lord have mercy on those who are to come after us !

"There is one observation more I would make, and it is this : I would wish noble lords to consider how much it lessens the dignity of this House to agitate privileges which you have not power to enforce. It hurts the constitution of Parliament, and, instead of being respected, makes us contemptible. That privilege which you cannot exercise, and of right too, disdain to keep."

If the country had been blessed with a majority of such patriots as Lord Abingdon, what misery had been prevented ! what lives had been saved !

Early in the year 1780, meetings of the populace took place in various parts of the kingdom, and ministers were boldly accused of having prodi-



A photograph of the tower of the cathedral.

machine, had himself crowned by the Pope like the emperors of the Middle Ages, and spoke of the revival of the Roman empire. In Southern and Western Germany, the empire concept had already remained alive — hence the imperial army, imperial princes and imperial cities. But the age of such medieval multiplicity was past: what the armies of the French Revolution and Napoleon took up their quarters in the ancient Rhinish cities. The end of the Holy Roman Empire brought great changes to the map of Germany.

A great number of the German principalities now began to negotiate with cities, counties, bishoprics and abbots. Finally decided their fate, and took away the new frontiers. The first imperial cities shrank to four in number: the three Hanseatic towns and Frankfurt, the city which had been so many emperors' abodes. Only vestiges of the middle-class state remained, and the ecclesiastical princes vanished after having been at meetings with the German nation in 1802. The bishopric of Wurzburg and the archbishopric of Mainz were states no longer and there were now seven secular princes that shared the imperial sovereignty until another war the end of the war. The change of frontiers of the map of Germany was completed in a few years, and the map altogether entirely altered. All South Germany, the classic land of miniature powers, was united into three states: Bavaria,

Wuerttemberg, and Baden. Nuremberg, Wurzburg, and Augsburg became Bavarian — Ulm and Upper Swabia, Wuerttembergian, while Freiburg and Heidelberg went to Baden. The Great Elector of Bavaria, the Duchy of Wuerttemberg, and the Margraviate of Baden had long been in existence. But the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wuerttemberg and the new Grand Duchy of Baden — these creations of the Napoleonic political revolution in Germany were new, not as new, however, as the Kingdom of Westphalia, whose king was Napoleon's brother, which was intended to unite North-western Germany as a counter-balance to a Prussia now entirely pushed behind the River Elbe and supposed to be kept in check by its southern neighbor, the Kingdom of Saxony. Germany had a surplus of kings. The "Rhinebund" accounted for four, it extended as far as Munich and Dresden and became a reservoir of German manpower for the Napoleonic armies. For these kings had to pay for their crowns with troops, and the new states were formed in order to place German armies under Napoleon's flag. This Germany, lying aside from Prussia and Austria, and having little experience of soldiering, was militarized by Napoleon. He taught militarism to West and South Germany. The French Revolution brought compulsory military service across the Rhine.

In its Napoleonic form and in these Napoleonic states, the French Revolution also brought the bloodless revolution of monarchist absolutism against the aristocracy. The stripping of power from the aristocracy, completed by the French republicans in 1793, occurred in the "Rhinebund" through the revolution, the civil service in the new states. Revolutions do not always need barricades and may happen without street fighting. The edicts of the new rulers annulling all privileges of the aristocracy with one stroke of the pen, constituted a revolution. In Southern Germany, the monarchs broke the power of the nobility; who ever speaks of the democratic German South today should remember that revolution of the princes against the aristocracy in the era of Napoleonic upheavals.

The Revolution of 1793 reached Germany in its Prussian and bureaucratic form. It came with the Napoleonic "Code Civil", with a new constitutional law and a new civil service. It was of major importance for future developments that this overthrow of the "ancient regime" in South Germany and on the Rhine was a lasting one. For Southern and Western Germany later became the centers of the nation's liberal movement prior to 1848. This 1793, through Napoleon, had its effect on Germany's development. But the French Revolution and Napoleon also brought to Germany democratic nationalism — itself a result of 1793 in France — which played up in the wars of independence.



rights, and by reformation of abuses. If they had done so, they would have given satisfactory evidence that government had no other object in view than faithfully to discharge their duty, by adopting such plans as would really benefit mankind, and furnish means to secure the comfort and happiness of all men.

In the meantime, much distress was imposed upon the unfortunate king, by the increasing and uncontrollable prodigality of some of his children, especially of George. The queen would not hear of anything to his discredit, and thus what little of family enjoyment remained was ultimately destroyed.

The unrestrained predilection of this youthful prince now became habitual pursuits, and excesses of the most detestable description were not unknown to him. Within the circle of his less nominally illustrious acquaintance, every father dreaded the seduction of his child, if she possessed any personal charms, while the mother feared to lose sight of her daughter, even for a moment. It is not in our power to give an adequate idea of the number of those families whose happiness he ruined; but we well, too well, know the number was infamously great. The country gave him credit for being liberal in political principles, and generously disposed for reform. But little of his real character was then known; his faults, indeed, were named as virtues, and his vices considered as

The fate of Napoleon was the same as that of Louis XIV. After many wars and victories, the emperor in Paris, exactly like the Sun King in Versailles, found himself faced with a coalition of the other powers against the ruler of Europe. Under Pitt, England fought the French hegemony on the Continent as fiercely as under William of Orange and the Duke of Marlborough a century earlier. Russia, first associated with the new Caesar and then overrun by him, retaliated after the fiasco of the "grande armée" in the burning of Moscow and the terrible retreat from Russia in 1812. And then in 1813 the Prussians rebelled.

The first Prussian uprising occurred in the spring of 1813. The first step, after the disgraceful defeat at the hands of Napoleon in 1806, had been taken when the reformers of the Prussian state — Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and Baron von und zum Stein — abolished the system of Frederic the Great and replaced mercenaries by a national army, attempting to create a kind of people's monarchy by means of this army. Enemies of the reformers called them the "Prussian Jacobins". Historians in monarchist Prussia have naturally disputed this epithet. But in the spring of 1813, when the King of Prussia, a grand-nephew of Frederic the Great, but himself no Frederic, hesitated to oppose Napoleon, these reformers were prepared to revolt. The king's call to arms against Napoleon was a flight from his own revolutionaries — to the front.

Austria now joined England and Russia in the great coalition that was to defeat Napoleon decisively in the battle of Leipzig and drive him back over the Rhine. The Prussian army of the War of Independence was not only the first national army in German history; it was also led by revolutionaries who changed an old order for which they had scant respect. Exiled by Napoleon, Baron von und zum Stein, who returned with the Czars and was the secret leader of the Prussian reformers, desired the expulsion of the little kings of the "Rheinbund", i.e., a complete reform of the Empire. He was as much hated by these monarchs as he himself despised them. In its Prussian version, the "People's Spring" of 1813 was meant to be a new start for all Germany. Yet, the great German revolution under Prussian leadership did not take place. Prince Metternich, counsellor and state chancellor to the Austrian emperor, was more powerful than Baron von und zum Stein, despite the latter sometimes being called "the secret emperor" by German patriots.

In Austria, too, there had been revolutionary ideas and attempts during the last war against Napoleon, four years prior to 1813. Appeals rang out for a "people's war" and for national mobilization, such as that in the Tyrol under Andreas Hofer, who conquered Innsbruck with his peasant bands, ruled as governor in the imperial residence, and was shot by a Napoleonic firing squad. Under Metternich's ministry in 1813, all that was finished.

To Chancellor Metternich, patriotism that did not owe allegiance to the ruling house appeared as Jacobinism; in the Vienna chancellery Baron von und zum Stein was regarded as a new Robespierre. Metternich succeeded in saving the small princes. Only the Napoleonic king in Germany, Jerome of Westphalia had to go. At the Congress of Vienna, between the first and second victory of the coalition against Bonaparte, the sovereigns of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, and Baden received European recognition. Even the King of Saxony, whom Russia and Prussia wished to see removed, retained his throne and the larger part of his lands. Prussia, however, profited greatly by the return to Germany of the land on the left bank of the Rhine. Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Trier became Prussian, and the Palatinate came under Bavarian rule. Prussia had now a wide front along the Rhine, a very important factor in the future national unification of Germany, just as it was to be important for Prussia that the Rhinelanders, in whose state revolutionary law was in force, became Prussians. The saying that Prussia is the country east of the Elbe and the home of the Junkers was no longer true after the Wars of Independence. After the revolutionary era in Europe, Austria, under Metternich, became the principal champion of the restoration of the old order in Germany.



Münster (Westphalia): 14th Century Town Hall, arched passage surmounted by a richly decorated Gothic facade

for the service of the year. The amount so calculated was twenty-one millions of money! — twelve of which were to be raised by loans, the terms being very high. From this bold imposition upon the public purse and credit, the ministry were much lowered in public opinion.

During this year, the brave General Washington struck that decisive blow which afterward gave liberty to his countrymen. He kept General Clinton at New York, in constant alarm; and then suddenly appeared before Yorktown in full force, and obtained a grand victory over Lord Cornwallis, who was there with his army. The American war consequently became more unpopular than ever, and shortly after the meeting of Parliament, in March, 1782, a resolution was moved, and passed without a division, declaring that the House of Commons would consider as enemies to his Majesty and the country all who should advise the prosecution of offensive war in North America.

Shortly after, Lord North resigned, and the Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the new administration. Amongst the promotions at this time was Mr. Dunning, who, at her Majesty's request, was created Baron Ashburton, and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

A treaty of peace was now entered into with General Washington, and Sir Guy Carleton was deputed to conduct the happy affair.

That revolution is a great, fundamental German popular rising with barricades and street fighting. The guards in Berlin fight in vain against the revolutionaries: the Hapsburg army lays a real siege to Vienna; in Rastatt (Baden) a complete revolutionary army and the Prussian army fight according to all the rules of war. To speak of innate German submissiveness implies ignorance of the men of 1848. The uprising in the spring of 1848 takes its course with the force of a flood. It is as during the Peasants' War of over three hundred years earlier; the old powers have to surrender to the first assault. Metternich goes into exile; new ministers, new constitutions, and parliaments arise; the press is granted its freedom; and a new German national assembly meets in Frankfurt. It is convened in the Paul's Cathedral and later simply comes to be called "the Paulskirche".

This is the first all-German parliament. Many professors sit in it; later generations have contemptuously claimed that it is no wonder it failed. But it does not fail for lack of political ability, but rather because the old powers have the soldiers. One year after the start of the revolution, the monarchs have got their breath back. The King of Prussia refuses the imperial crown offered him by Parliament, the Austrian emperor orders his troops to march against Vienna, the guards regiments are remobilized in Berlin, and the remains of the national assembly in Stuttgart are dispersed by Wuertemberg troops.

But between the beginning and the end of this revolution, a call to freedom has sounded to the Germans that does not die. Many "48ers" leave Germany for America. But the Paulskirche becomes the cradle of all future German constitutions. Thirty years later, much that has been proclaimed in the Paulskirche will become reality in Germany. Hardly twenty years later, that German Empire will arise which is so passionately called for in 1848. For this German revolution has appealed for liberty and unity. In 1848 the Germans want to be free and united, to become an empire again, not to remain a union of sovereign states. History likes irony: without 1848 there would have been no Bismarck. Yet history must also do justice to the unsuccessful; Bismarck could not have established the empire without the appeal of 1848.

A chapter of German history, from 1860 to 1890 can be called the "Bismarckian". This man has suffered a strange fate. In his time, he is respected and honored the world over. Yet, with the world wars of this century, he has come to typify to the French, British, and Americans, the German Junker, German militarism, and the reactionary German mind. Who is right? His contemporaries or the men of today?

Otto von Bismarck led the life of a rich nobleman and landowner. But there are middle-class officials among his ancestors, and all his lifetime he remains

an uncanny figure to his social equals. The real Junkers do not consider him one of their own kind, and even as Imperial Prime Minister typifying the Prussian Junker regime, he retains his bitter enemies among Prussian conservatives.

Though Bismarck often appears in the glittering uniform of a cuirassier, his military career is extremely brief and undistinguished. He has never been an active officer, and both in war and peace he opposes, instead of supporting, the party of the generals. After the war with Austria, it is he who grimly insists on peace and reconciliation; following the Franco-Prussian war, it is he who warns against making large territorial gains; and finally, it is he again who objects to the annexation of Austria's German lands.

Nevertheless, it is also Bismarck who says that only blood and iron can solve the German problem. But at the time when he completes the unification of the "Reich" through three wars, the far bloodier Civil War breaks out in the United States — another unification that can be accomplished only by blood and iron.

The Germans want to unite. The German Union no longer satisfies the desire for national unity. 1848 has distinctly proclaimed this longing, and the restored German Union is a hollow structure. But Austria and Prussia, two great powers, are members of this Union. Austria, part of the Union only to the extent of its German territories, but itself a union of Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Venice, and Lombardy under the Hapsburgs, cannot found the empire. Neither can it permit the establishment of an empire that would exclude it from the German sphere. Already in 1848, the men in the Paulskirche have passionately debated this problem. In the Assembly are adherents of an Austrian solution for German unity which would result in one empire from Hamburg to Trieste. Supporters of this are called "greater Germans". They are opposed by the "smaller Germans" who desire a Prussian empire, in which Austria's German territories from Vienna to Innsbruck (parts of the former Empire) will no longer belong to the new one. The majority of "48ers" voted for the smaller Germany, and the Prussian Prime Minister Bismarck follows in the steps of these "48ers" as he forms the new German Empire with Prussia as its center.

The creation of this Empire is in no respect a barbarous Prussian conquest of Germany. It arises from the popular desire for unity and is a masterpiece of diplomacy. Bismarck, the diplomat, has to found the new Empire under the noses of the old powers — Russia, Austria and France; later he admits he has often felt like a wanderer along the edge of a cliff. It is his triumph in Prussia's fight with Austria that France remains neutral and that in the Franco-Prussian war Austria does not intervene. This success is the result of subtle diplomacy that owes nothing to sabre-rattling.



Later, to be sure, it is branded as Machiavellism, and Bismarck is criticized for a lack of moral sense. But his principal opponent is Napoleon III in Paris, a crowned Machiavellian, who has already waged three wars, reaching as far as Mexico and Indochina, when Bismarck begins his first. Napoleon III covets Mexico and Indochina, whereas Bismarck never looks beyond the German border. Machiavellism is the rule in Europe's diplomacy. Bismarck is not the exception, as is later claimed by some who will only fix their attention on him instead of keeping one eye on his contemporary, Napoleon. The manner of Prussia's rise under Bismarck is not in the least unusual for its time, but its speed is. The short war with Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein is still a joint Austro-Prussian venture. Two years later Prussia defeats Austria, gaining Hanover, Kur-Hessen, Nassau and Frankfurt, and unites with the other German states north of the river Main in the North German Confederation. Four years later follows the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, in which all German states — Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony and Wuertemberg — fight, defeating and capturing Napoleon III in the battle of Sedan, besieging Paris, proclaiming King Wilhelm of Prussia German Emperor in the castle of Versailles, and founding the new German Empire. A fundamental decision for Germany! For Europe! For the World!

### THE NEW EMPIRE

The German Empire of 1871 is a new power in the ranks of the Great Powers. At the conference table, Britain, France, Russia and Austria have to make room for Germany and Italy (which has acquired national unity at the same time as Germany). It is decisive for nearly fifty years' peace in Europe that Bismarck never demands a more important place for the German Empire than it has at the time of its foundation. From then onwards Bismarck wages no more wars; and while France builds up her colonial empire in Africa and Indochina, Bismarck hesitates very much where German colonies are concerned. The age of European imperialism cannot claim Bismarck as a star performer.

The new German Empire safeguards stability on the Continent. There was no policy of expansion, no Bismarck imperialism. "The strongest military power on the Continent", as the Empire is called, has generals who have never been anything but officer cadets on the battlefields. Their regiments do not fight any battles for over forty years, while in the meantime Russia and Japan wage wars, Britain occupies Egypt and subdues the Boer states, and France seizes Morocco. Bismarck is Chancellor of that Empire only during the first half of those forty years. But the effect of his abstention from conquest survives him for many years.

Germany's rise to power in the second half of the 19th century represents no territorial expansion —

German colonies in Africa and the Pacific Ocean are insignificant compared to the colonial empires of Great Britain and France — it is above all due to the increasing development of Germany's economy. As early as 1848, the revolution has released tremendous energies into economic life, and the establishment of the Empire provides in full the political conditions necessary to foster economic life in Germany. The development, however, is not as rapid as it seems in retrospect. Following the fabulous "Period of Speculating Founders" after the 1870 victory, the German economy experiences hard times and growing pains. But at the turn of the century it attains equality with the great economic powers of the world.

This is the period of great entrepreneurs, inventors and technicians, in which Germany's business houses obtain international reputations and her trade becomes world-wide. This is the new aspect of Germany's development in the reign of Emperor Wilhelm II, from Bismarck's downfall — brought about by the new ruler — until the outbreak of World War I. Emperor Wilhelm II represents the encounter of the old Prussian state with the new German economy; he has much in common with his uncle, Edward VII of England. The "Wilhelminian Epoch" in German history does not run parallel to Edwardian Britain in time alone. Business leaders become acceptable at court and prominent in society, politics and the nation. Factory owners, bankers and merchants form a new upper class next to, and often above, the landowners and imperial councillors, and, in his open-mindedness towards the new importance of economic affairs, Emperor Wilhelm II is a very modern monarch.

This Wilhelminian Empire is no democracy of the Western variety, still less is it the "ancien régime". As a "constitutional monarchy", it represents a compromise between the power of the princes and that of the people, born of the bitter fights between parliament and monarchy in Prussia in Bismarck's early days. When he becomes Prime Minister of Prussia, the introduction of the British form of parliamentary monarchy is on the agenda. Bismarck prevents the victory of liberalism in Germany. Yet he is no Metternich. He introduces universal suffrage for the Reichstag at a time when liberals in Prussia uphold a triple suffrage law giving priority to the wealthy. At the height of his power, he does not govern with the Junkers, the conservatives, but with the National Liberals, the important middle-class. From its very beginning the parliament of the German Empire is no puppet organization. Though it is unable to call to account or overthrow any Chancellor, in the long run every Chancellor needs a majority in the Reichstag, and a decade before the end of the Empire parliament almost forces the Emperor to abdicate.

Bismarck does not crush liberalism in Germany. Even in a nation not governed by parliament, the

sentiments of these gentlemen were opposed, it was represented as a safe line of conduct, to ensure the tranquillity of the kingdom. Thus, again, was every portion of truth sacrificed to the will of the queen.

This year, the king agreed that the heir apparent should receive fifty thousand pounds per annum, and sixty thousand pounds to equip him suitably to his dignity. In the meantime, it became a public fact that the prince had so deeply involved himself in debt as to be mean enough to resort, through the medium of others, to borrow money (of various amounts) of his tradespeople.

Before the conclusion of the year, the Whig and Tory ministry was ejected, to the entire satisfaction of nearly every individual in the nation, who despised such an unholy alliance of opposite principles.

Mr. Pitt was now made "First Lord of the Treasury," which was a change very satisfactory to her Majesty, as, from the youth of the new "premier," she augured her likely influence over the political hemisphere to be increased. It was well known that her Majesty did not like any of the prince's associates, more especially Messrs. Fox and Sheridan. Mr. Burke was not supposed to be so informed upon all subjects; and, though much in the necessary confidence of the prince, the queen presumed it was chiefly in procuring pecuniary accommodations. It was not until an

preponderance of a middle-class economy is the power behind liberalism. The free economy is very characteristic of Wilhelm's period; freedom of scientific research in the universities cannot be denied, and the freedom of the press, though not as extensive as in France and Britain, is in no way as limited as is later claimed. Germany at the turn of the century does not lack liberty, despite being an Empire with many princes. It is a nation, nevertheless, in which the aristocracy still has more power than in Western European countries, and in which officers, in the tradition of Frederick the Great, possess privileged social positions and maintain the social conventions of the past more rigidly than elsewhere. But to paint a picture of Germany under a sinister rule of princes and aristocrats is false. On the contrary, liberalism strongly characterizes Wilhelminian Germany.

Like all other industrial nations of the time it has social problems to face. Along with capitalism there is the growth of socialism. In the frenzy of the early capitalistic "Period of Speculating Founders" the German Social Democratic Party is established, and undergoes its great trial in the struggle with Bismarck.

Bismarck enacts the "Socialist Law" against the Social Democratic Party. Designed to defeat the young party, it reinforces it instead. After Bismarck's policy of outlawing the party fails, German Social Democrats grow to be the strongest socialist organization in Europe, and in the last imperial Reichstag they are the strongest party. In imperial Germany the working classes have massive political representation. That they do not make peace with the Emperor is not only due to the Bismarckian campaign against socialism. For in Germany at the time not only the monarchy but also the princes consider socialism the mortal enemy of the existing social and political order. The entire bourgeoisie of Europe opposes "the Reds", and the socialists themselves place revolution on their program. In Southern Germany there are signs of a drawing together of the reforming socialists and the progressive middle class. A new social climate is created, and, in spite of sharp class distinctions in the Empire, it is impossible to speak of a revolutionary climate in Germany. War, not revolution, brings the end of the Reich.

Although World War II has almost displaced World War I from the memory of our generation,



*Heidelberg on the Neckar. View of the university city from the heights above the Neckar.*



forsooth, be accounted a noble-minded gentleman; and, instead of exposition and punishment, the venal and hired press of the day launched out into the most fulsome eulogiums of his graceful, all-attracting elegance of style and manners, without even speaking of the infamy of his amours, intrigues, and debaucheries. Some writers, alas! are so fearful of speaking the truth, lest they should offend the side they have espoused, or the inclinations and political principles of those by whom they are likely to be read, that they almost persuade themselves there is a sort of impropriety in presenting facts in their proper colours. But is it not beneath the dignity of the press to act in so cowardly a manner?

In the year 1784 (notwithstanding the dreadfully enormous weight of the "national debt," borrowed by the ministers upon nominal annuities, for which large interest was given) the king was again solicited to assist the prince, in order that his debts might be discharged. This request was refused, and Messrs. Fox and Sheridan advocated the subject to no purpose.

During this year, much public display of talent was made in the House. Mr. Pitt was now fully and entirely in her Majesty's "confidence," and he well knew if "the system" were to be continued, war must be carried on, and oppression would increase rather than decrease. While engaged in a private interview with the queen, upon

national prejudices will always flare up when its origin is discussed. The Russo-Austrian enmity is the undisputed immediate cause. Russia's drive to the Dardanelles turns the Balkans into a powder keg; the Balkan wars are direct preludes to the World War, and the assassination of the Austrian successor to the throne by a Serb in Sarajevo is the match that ignites the charge. The Hapsburg Empire attacks Serbia, Russia wants to support Serbia, the German Empire does not want to leave Austria in the lurch, France is allied to Russia, and Great Britain enters the war when German troops march through Belgium against France.

For centuries powerful armies have faced one another in Europe. In the decade prior to World War I two crises have already arisen that might have provoked a war. Now it breaks out.

After Germany's first push against France, the fronts settle into interminable bloody battles at Verdun, on the Somme and in Flanders. In 1917 the Russian Empire collapses. Now the United States enters the war, and, in 1918, the last German offensive in the West fails. This is the first total war in history. While the Allies try to blockade their enemies into starvation, German U-boats attack supplies going to Great Britain.

In 1914 the world was convinced that a modern war could hardly last long. But the conflict ends only in November 1918 with the defeat of Germany and Austria, after Russia's fall a year before; it erases these three Empires from history. Russia goes communist; the Hapsburg Empire crumbles; Germany becomes a republic, losing Alsace-Lorraine to France, and East Prussia, Posen, and part of Upper Silesia to newly-revived Poland. The Saar region is placed under the control of the newly-created League of Nations. Danzig acquires autonomy. Germany is left with only a small professional army and made to pay reparations. Such are the terms of the peace of Versailles in 1919. It concludes an epoch in Europe that began in Versailles in 1871.

### TOWARDS DISASTER

The German Empire becomes a republic in 1918. In 1919 the republic draws up its constitution in the National Assembly at Weimar, and thus acquires the name "Weimar Republic". This republic, arising out of the defeat of the Empire and dying under National-Socialism, has had many harsh critics. Some have reproached it because it has not stemmed from a genuine revolution, and, as a matter of fact, the November Revolution of 1918 is nothing but the collapse of the old authorities and the crown amid the catastrophic defeat on the battlefields and the nation's hunger. But the Weimar Republic has to fight a hard struggle against the communist revolution, and no one should forget that without this battle of the Weimar democracy,

communism would have conquered Germany within a few years of the Russian revolution — and would have thereby laid its hands on the heart of Europe. The young republic no longer has an army. It has to conclude a hard peace, and the "cold revolution" of the inflation that consumes nearly all savings, turning a large part of the middle class into the new proletariat and disrupting social security and order, makes quick progress, while street fighting breaks out in Berlin, Saxony, Bavaria and Central Germany. Demobilized young officers without jobs or future become a natural reservoir of radical groups of the extreme right whose headquarters, strangely enough, are in Bavaria and not in Prussia. While French troops march into the Ruhr in pursuance of the reparations policy, and the currency loses all value, the Nazi Party makes its putsch in Munich under its leader, Adolf Hitler.

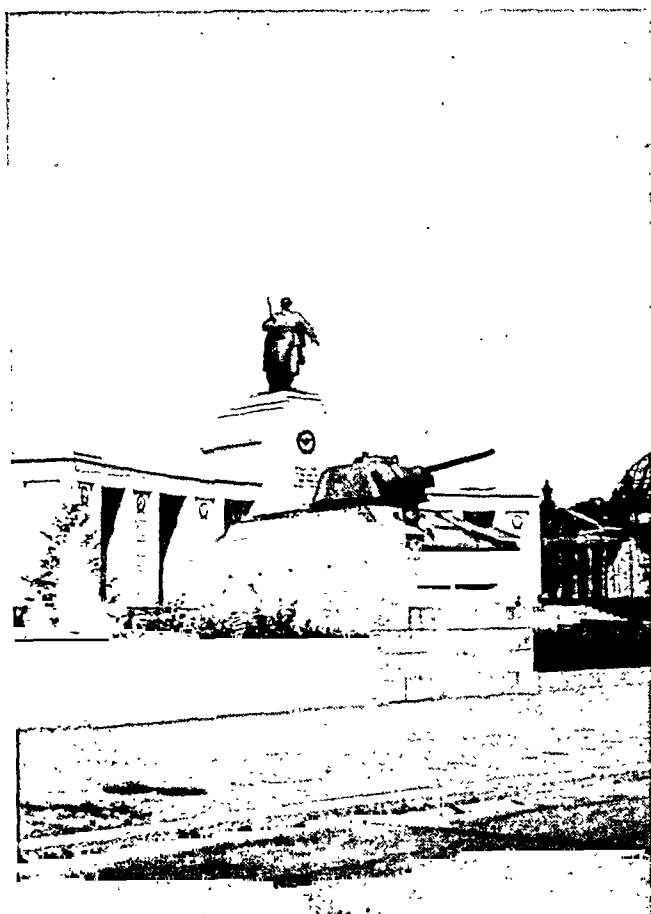
Seldom before had a new state to prove itself under such conditions: political plots from the right that result in the killing of Foreign Minister Rathenau, open rebellion from the left, led and promoted by the Soviets in Moscow, excessive demands by the victorious enemy. The almost impossible comes off. Upheld in these difficult years by the Socialists, the Center Party (the political organization of the German Catholics), and the Democratic Party, the Weimar Republic overcomes right-wing radicalism and communist revolts, and under Foreign Minister Stresemann seeks a policy of European reconciliation with France.

The introduction of a new, sound currency lays a firm basis. But the disastrous effects of the inflation, dispossessing large sections of the middle classes and civil servants, become evident later with the downfall of the Weimar Republic. Representatives of the old order remain strongly right-wing and opposed to the republic; on the left, the Communists sit in considerable numbers in parliament. Yet, after its birth pangs, this republic has every prospect of enduring if times return to normal. It experiences a certain swing to the right, which is usual after nearly all revolutionary periods in all countries. This German right wing in the first phase of the Weimar Republic closely resembles that of the French Republic after 1871, and, despite tradition, it gradually falls into the republican pattern. Just as the French after the 1870 war elect Marshal Mac Mahon President, so in Germany, after the death of the first Reichs President, Friedrich Ebert, a socialist who had fought for democracy against communism, Field Marshal Hindenburg, undoubtedly a staunch conservative, is elected President. But Hindenburg does not restore the Hohenzollerns. The German army, following the tradition of the imperial army, has no sincere emotional ties to the republic, yet attempts no coup d'état. The economic recovery of those years is a good basis for strengthening democracy.

minister," to bring in "a bill to amend the representation of the people," he moved, April 18th, for leave to bring it forward for the consideration of the House. His plan was to transfer the right of election from thirty-six rotten boroughs to the counties and principal unrepresented towns, allowing a pecuniary compensation to the owners of the disfranchised boroughs, and to extend the right of voting for knights of the shires to copyholders. This minister suffered his motion to be negatived by 248 against 194. Had there been honesty on the part of the minister toward the people, unfettered by any state secrets, he would have been prepared to meet the numerous opposers; but he found himself unable to serve the cause of liberty and slavery at the same time, and so, to save his word of promise, he did bring in "the bill," when he well knew it was impossible to carry it under the then existing corruptions.

In the farce here played, under the management of that youthful renegade, Pitt, we have a fair specimen of the way in which the English have been treated. But there is a time rapidly approaching when the supporters of despotism cannot thus delude their countrymen. The whole nest of court sycophants, however, seem determined rather to see England reduced to a state of the most grievous bondage, than imagine one of their own ill-gotten acres endangered, or the least of their absurd and exclusive privileges called in

The danger zones through which every new society must pass, as long as the powers, ideas, and emotions of the old order endure and remain alive in many people, appear almost surmounted when the world economic depression hits with deadly impact this state and people who have yet hardly overcome the worst misery and live without any reserves. The Weimar Republic is the principal victim of the world depression of 1929. For unlike the situation in other nations, inflation has destroyed



*A symbol of Germany's total collapse. The Soviet victory monument in West Berlin. In the background, the ruins of the former German Reichstag.*

the basis of life; unlike other nations, Germany, burdened with reparation payments, can only recover with the help of loans from abroad, the cancellation of which is disastrous.

Many factors contribute to the rise of Nazism in Germany, but it does not become a mass movement until the mass unemployment of the early thirties. Foremost among all the explanations for the increase of the Nazi Party is the simple fact that its parliamentary representation increases in exact proportion to the unemployment figures. In 1932 Adolf Hitler says exactly the same as in 1927, and he is the same demagogue. But in 1927 only 12 of his party sit in the Reichstag, whereas in 1932 it has become a party of the masses. Those deprived

of jobs, those without livelihood and the many employees fearing dismissal at the end of each month, youth with no chance of employment; minor officials whose salaries are being cut, peasants with mortgaged farms, artisans and small shopkeepers who see their businesses vanish: all these millions form the reservoir for the dictatorship that promises them economic salvation and proclaims that all evil originates only from the existing political and economic system.

As a mass phenomenon, Nazism is the revolution of a middle class disappearing under the pressure of economic need and loss of security, of youth without prospects, under the leadership of a class of professional revolutionaries who have studied communism very closely. The Nazis, however, find valuable allies in a section of the old right wing that cherishes the illusion that Adolf Hitler will be instrumental in placing these masses under its control in order to counterbalance communism. For, in the Germany before 1933, the communist storm troopers are as strong as the Nazi storm troopers, and the Red Headquarters in Berlin is an armed party stronghold just as Hitler's Brown House in Munich.

Amid chaotic poverty and confusion, many in Germany consider a communist accession to power the prime danger, and Nazism, therefore, the lesser evil. They are as wrong as those who believe that they can ride a tiger and return to power via Adolf Hitler. But this error brings Hitler to power. Hitler becomes Chancellor in 1933. Germany experiences demoniac totalitarianism. The great delirium begins; the power apparatus of total force is being built up. The events leading to the downfall of this system are the story of our own times, and not yet history. Our contemporaries now have their say. They have witnessed at first hand the establishment of this total regime in the heart of Europe, its eruption into World War II, and its collapse, which led to the worst disaster in Germany's existence. Terror and war, mass murder and annihilation, madness and futile resistance mark Hitler's rule over Germany.

In years to come, historians will entitle this picture the German Inferno. But they do not see it as the final picture in two thousand years of German history. Hitler was not Germany, nor Lenin Russia. He represented German tradition even less than Lenin typifies that of the Czars. Totalitarianism cannot be explained by German history, nor is it a German or Germanic characteristic. It is the intervention of dark forces in Germany's fate. It represents not the fulfilment of Germany's development but its tragic destiny — the fall to its lowest level.

No nation can tear a page from its history, however dark it may be. But historians can show that this, the most recent page of German history, was not written in the same hand as the rest. The German people will prove that the pages which are to come shall be written in another hand.

After the ceremony, Mr. Fox handed them into a carriage, and they drove to Richmond, where they spent some days. In the interim, the queen was made acquainted with the marriage. Her Majesty requested an audience with the prince, which was immediately complied with. The queen insisted on being told if the news of his marriage were correct. "Yes, madam," replied he, "and not any force under heaven shall separate us. If his Majesty had been as firm in acknowledging his marriage, he might now have enjoyed life, instead of being a misanthrope, as he is. But I beg, further, that my wife be received at court, and proportionately as your Majesty receives her, and pays her attention, from this time, so shall I render my attentions to your Majesty. The lady I have married is worthy of all homage, and my very confidential friends, with some of my wife's relations, only, witnessed our marriage. Have you not always taught me to consider myself heir to the first sovereignty in the world? where, then, will exist any risk of obtaining a ready concurrence from the House in my marriage? I hope, madam, a few hours' reflection will satisfy you that I have done my duty in following this impulse of my inclinations, and therefore I wait your Majesty's commands, feeling assured you would not wish to blast the happiness of your favourite prince." The queen presumed it would prove her best policy to signify her acquiescence to

Doctor Theodor Heuss, the former leader of the Free Democratic Party.

The Federal Government is the chief executive organ. The Basic Law provides for it a particularly strong position which in normal circumstances allows it to govern for four years undisturbed by the fear of continual crises. This was achieved, after careful consideration, by incorporating in the constitution Article 57, which establishes the so-called "constructive vote of no confidence". This article provides that the Federal Diet can pass a vote of no confidence in the Federal Chancellor only by a majority vote appointing and electing his successor. The chances of a government crisis are thereby greatly reduced. In practice, it precludes the possibility of a hiatus in the work of government. The stability of any government, once it has been appointed by the Federal Diet, is assured. Its work is further safeguarded by the fact that the Basic Law recognizes no vote of censure against individual ministers. No minister, therefore, can be dislodged from the cabinet.

Emergency powers are provided for the government in two distinct cases. Both are controlled by the Federal Council. There is a legislative emergency and a police emergency. A legislative emergency arises when the Federal Diet refuses to pass a vital government measure. Subject to certain safeguards, the measure may then be given force of law without the assent of the Diet. In the case of an uprising or "to counter a threat to the existence or the free and democratic foundation of the Federal State or one of the states", the police of the States can be placed under the control of the Federation. This is the police emergency (Article 91 of the Basic Law).

The most powerful member of the Federal Government, according to the Basic Law, is the Federal Chancellor. "The Federal Chancellor directs policy and is responsible for it." The Federal Chancellor during the first legislative period (September 7, 1949—1953) was Doctor Konrad Adenauer, chairman of the strongest single party in the Federal Republic, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). His first cabinet consisted of 14 Federal Ministers.

They were:

Dr. Konrad Adenauer	Federal Chancellor, since 1951 also Minister of Foreign affairs
Franz Blücher	Deputy Chancellor and Minister for FRP
Dr. h. c. Robert Lehr	Minister of the Interior (before his resignation in 1950, Dr. Gustav Heinemann was the first Minister of the Interior in Dr. Adenauer's cabinet)
Fritz Schäffer	Minister of Finance
Prof. Dr. Ludwig Erhard	Minister of Economic Affairs
Dr. Thomas Dehler	Minister of Justice
Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Niklas	Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forestry
Anton Storch	Minister of Labour
Dr. Hans-Christoph Seebohm	Minister of Transport
Hans Schubert	Minister of Post and Telecommuni- cations
Fritz Heilmeyer	Minister of Housing (until his death in 1952, Eberhard Wilder- muth was the first Minister of Housing in Dr. Adenauer's cabi- net)
Dr. Hans Lohauschel	Minister for Expellee Matters
Jakob Kaiser	Minister for all-German Affairs
Heinrich Hellwege	Minister for Matters concerning the Federal Council

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Franz Blücher: Vice-Chancellor



Dr. Gerhard Schröder: Interior



Fritz Schäffer: Finance

bation to relieve the Prince of Wales from all embarrassments of a pecuniary nature," to which he hoped the House would cordially agree. This announcement created much conversation, as well it might ; and Mr. Newnham was earnestly solicited to withdraw his motion, lest its results should do injury to the state, and be productive of other inconvenience and mischief. The minister (Pitt) said, "that if Mr. Newnham persevered in pressing his motion upon the notice of the House, he should be driven to make disclosures of circumstances, which otherwise he believed it to be his imperative duty to conceal." Mr. Rolle (member for Devonshire) considered that an investigation of this matter involved many questions of consequence, which would affect both Church and state. Messrs. Fox and Sheridan, with some other private acquaintances of the prince, were bold in their language, and replied that "the prince did not fear any investigation of his conduct ; and that respect or indulgence, by an affected tenderness or studied ambiguity, would be disagreeable to the wishes and feelings of his Royal Highness."

A few days after this debate, Mr. Fox called the attention of the House to the strange and extraordinary language used by Mr. Rolle, saying "that he presumed those remarks were made in reference to the base and malicious calumny which had been propagated out-of-doors by the enemies of the prince, in order to depreciate his

There were two cabinet changes during the period of office of the first Federal Government. Only one minister resigned for political reasons (Dr. Gustav Heinemann). The other minister (Eberhard Wildermuth) died. The large number of special ministries in the first Federal Cabinet reflects the special problems of the Federal Republic: ERP, housing, relief for millions of expellees, the division of Germany and the strong privileges of the Laender — all these required special federal ministries if the exceptionally wide-spread and drastic problems flowing from World War II were to be solved.

## II.

The background to the Basic Law and the establishment of the chief constitutional organs reflects current events from 1945 to 1949. After the German capitulation on May 8, 1945, the Allied Powers, represented by the Allied Control Council for Germany, assumed supreme authority. The four zones of occupation were administered by the four Military Governments, each headed by its Military Governor. There was no question of an independent German government of any kind. Prussia, the most powerful of the former German states, was dissolved. Under the supervision of Military Governments a number of new states were formed, the one-time monolithic state being split up into a series of smaller ones — some historic, others artificial. State governments, State parliaments and State constitutions were set up. From this level of state politics there grew, very gradually, the structure of a new German State. The Laender of South Germany, pressed by the need for common decisions on many vital problems, were the first to set up a joint political organ, the "States

Council". This was a standing committee of State Premiers which co-ordinated common tasks. In the Laender of Northwest-Germany, the British Zone, a number of zonal offices were set up (zonal offices of justice, of food, of labour, etc. in Hamburg) as well as the "Zonal Advisory Council" as an advisory body to the British Military Governor. This Zonal Advisory Council had a "parliamentary" complexion in so far as political parties were represented on it in proportion to their strength as demonstrated in Land parliamentary elections. It was here that Dr. Adenauer, later to become the first government leader, first met the Social Democrat, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, later to become the leader of the opposition. In their dealings with the British Military Governor they represented the two largest parties of the Federal Republic to come.

In Southwest Germany, the French Zone, a permanent "States Secretariat" was established. The development towards independence was slowest in the French Zone of Occupation. The expression "silk curtain" became current to describe events there, in analogy with the Iron Curtain which was soon to descend and separate Western and Central Germany.

From the zonal offices grew the "bizonal" administrations which operated jointly in the British and American Zones. They initiated the fusion of the two zones which led to the formation, in 1947, of the "Bizonal Economic Council". Its seat was Frankfurt on the Main. The Laender of the French Zone joined it somewhat later. The Economic Council was the first step from the absolute authority of the Military Governors to a return to the principle of the division of power. The Economic Council

## MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CABINET



*Fritz Neumayer: Justice*



*Prof. Dr. Ludwig Erhard: Economics*



*Dr. Viktor-Emanuel Preusker: Housing*



quiry; for if it had proceeded to any greater length, the legitimacy of the prince might have been doubted!

The prince again sought advice to shield himself from his various opponents, whose impertinent, yet honest expressions, might prove an alloy to his character, and render void all his pretensions to even common honesty. His Royal Highness deigned to consult some persons of consequence, but he could not receive any advice equal to his wishes. At length, he saw the queen, and partly explained his difficulties and debts, concluding his remarks by these threatening words: "Unless the king suggests his desire for the payment of these debts, I will explain all this state mystery; and I would receive a shot from a musket, in preference to the galling insults which I well know the kingdoms infer from these shameful arrears." Again the state secrets operated. Again was truth to be hidden in a napkin. The prince retired from the audience; but the queen was no sooner disengaged than Mr. Pitt was announced and introduced. The interview was short, but decisive, and the minister departed on a mission to the prince at Carlton House. There he promised that his Royal Highness should immediately receive means to discharge his debts, and accordingly, on the very next day, a message was laid before the House, and an address voted to the king, to request him to grant

ture by direct legislation and set a precedent for the constitutional safeguards of the individual. Freedom of person and development of personality, freedom of belief, conscience and religion, freedom of the press and freedom of science, research and teaching — all these are firmly anchored in the Basic Law. So are the protection of the family, freedom of assembly, inviolability of correspondence, the right of association, the protection of home and property. Already the first legislative period saw strong differences of opinion on one of the basic rights — that of the equality of the sexes. In order to achieve equal status for women, a number of provisions in the existing common law would have to be amended. The Federal Diet failed to reach agreement on these changes. But since the Basic Law laid down that the provisions concerning sex-equality should enter into force on April 1, 1953, the relevant sections of the common law have since that date been in suspense. This is a situation to which the second Federal Diet will have to devote its attention. The "basic rights" were further reinforced by the United Nations Convention on Human Rights, which representatives of the Federal Diet, in the Federal Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, accepted as binding for the Federal Republic.

The passing of the constitution also marked a new stage in occupation policy in Western Germany. On April 10, 1949 the three Allied Military Governors proclaimed the "Occupation Statute", which was to give the German people a greater measure of self-government and administration. The Occupation Statute was linked to the Basic Law. Any alteration of the provisional constitution required the approval of the occupation authorities. The

greater freedom of the Federal and Land governments, too, was limited by the general clause of the Occupation Statute which said that "the occupation authorities reserve the right, acting under instructions of their Governments, to resume in whole or in part the exercise of full authority if these consider that to do so is essential to security..." The Occupying Powers reserved for themselves a large number of rights in matters of disarmament and demilitarisation, the security of the occupation forces, of foreign affairs, foreign trade and exchange control, as well as of internal German legislation. But the Occupation Statute itself provided for changes in these regulations within one year. The foreign policy of the first Federal Government was consequently directed, from the start, towards the achievement of further political and economic freedom. In matters not specified as "reserved" in the Occupation Statute, German legislators were once more fully responsible. This alone imposed on the Federal Diet the need for a host of legislative changes, as between 1945 and 1949 the Occupying Powers had initiated legislation on many matters not immediately connected with the security of their forces or their rights. They had made laws for housing, for financial policy, for legal matters and even for marriage. The Occupation Statute placed only one restriction on German legislators. The Allied High Commission retained the right to express its disapproval of any legislation within 21 days after it had been passed. But there were only few such expressions of disapproval, and the reserved rights, too, were generally exercised with discretion. The Occupation Statute transformed the Military Governors into High Commissioners. The military law of the

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*Jakob Kaiser: All-German Affairs*



*Dr. Hans-Christoph Seebohm: Transport*



*Heinrich Hellwege: Federal Council Matters*

allied military administrations was replaced by the civil administration of the occupying authorities. The three High Commissioners formed the High Commission which from then on took joint decisions. Its first seat was the Petersberg, in the Seven Mountains near Bonn.

The Germans, meanwhile, had selected Bonn as the headquarters of the federal offices and the provisional federal capital. Bonn secured a narrow victory in the Parliamentary Council over Frankfurt, by 33 votes to 29. All parties, in and out of parliament, were agreed, whenever the question of the German capital arose, that only Berlin could ultimately be the federal capital. The fate of Berlin during the Soviet blockade (June 1948 to May 1949) and the rising of the East Berlin workers against the terror of the Moscow-sponsored East Zone Government on June 17, 1953 have established the indisputable fact that as soon as the political conditions exist for the unification of Germany, Berlin alone will be chosen as the German capital.

On August 14, 1949 the German people were called upon to vote in the first elections for a Federal Diet. These elections founded the Federal Republic and initiated the work of the chief federal organs. 32 million citizens were entitled to vote. They had a choice of 13 parties. 78.6% of the electorate cast their votes in a poll held according to an electoral law decreed by the Parliamentary Council. It was a mixed system of voting, amounting in practice to proportional representation. In order of the final election results, the three largest parties obtained the following number of seats: CDU/CSU 139, SPD 131, FDP 52. Together with the German Party, which obtained 15 seats, the CDU/CSU and the FDP formed a coalition and with it the first majority

government of the Federal Republic. On September 15, Dr. Konrad Adenauer (CDU), until then President of the Parliamentary Council, was elected Federal Chancellor by 202 votes — the required absolute majority of all delegates. He had been proposed by the Federal President. The CDU/CSU, which had emerged from the elections as the strongest party, had refused to enter into a coalition (the so-called big coalition) with the second strongest party, the SPD. Partnered by the DP and the FDP, it chose the "little coalition". The SPD went into opposition. The first parliament of the Federal Republic thus presented a picture of responsibility clearly divided between the coalition government on the one hand and the second-largest party on the other, opposing and checking the government. The smaller parties grouped themselves around these two main blocks, changing sides occasionally. These parties were the Bavarian Party, the Center Party, the South German "Association for Reconstruction" (WAV). (This party's popularity declined steadily in the course of the first legislative period, and it finally dissolved.) In addition, there were some extreme right-wing splinter groups and the Communists. The Communists found themselves permanently isolated, burdened as they were with the Soviet policy of dividing Germany. At no time did these small groups hold the balance of power in the first Federal Diet. Parliamentary decisions there went against the government only on occasions when the SPD opposition succeeded in carrying one of the coalition parties with it into the lobby against the government.

The elections for the second German Federal Diet, on September 6, 1953, changed the parliamentary picture in several important respects. The electoral

#### MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CABINET



*Dr. Siegfried Balke: Post Office*



*Dr. Franz-Josef Wuermeling: Family*



*Franz-Josef Strauss: Minister without Portfolio*

an opportunity of exercising complete control over her afflicted husband. On the reassembling of Parliament, therefore, the project of the queen was brought forward by Pitt, who, possessing a decided majority, passed what resolutions he pleased. He contended, in opposition to Fox, that the Prince of Wales had no more right to the regency than he had. The debates upon this subject were long and warm, but Pitt and the queen finally triumphed. The care of the king's person and the disposition of the royal household was to be committed to her Majesty, who would, by this means, be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, amongst which were the great offices of lord steward, lord chamberlain, and master of the horse. These "loaves and fishes" offered the queen a fine opportunity of exercising her tyranny and further increasing her power.

Let us here digress a little, to reflect upon the enviable state in which her Majesty was placed at this period.

Behold, then, the Queen of England in the enjoyment of health, surrounded with all the luxuries of life, knowing the intricacies of state infamy, and anxious to hold the reins of government in her own hands, constantly closeted with the minister — alone! his years not half so many as those of his royal mistress. See her confiding in his secrecy, submitting her opinions for his decision, and knowing that herself and her family are

law had increased the number of deputies to 484. In an unexpectedly heavy poll, the CDU received 45.2% of the total votes. This gave it 244 seats in the Diet — just sufficient for an absolute majority. The largest opposition party, the SPD, also increased its poll, but its percentage of the total showed a slight decline. The partners in the first coalition government, the Federal Democratic Party and the German Party, lost votes. However, as a result of the unparalleled electoral victory of the CDU/CSU, the coalition parties together obtained 58% of the votes and 306 seats in the Diet. A new party in the Diet, not hitherto represented, was the Party of Refugees and Expellees (BHE). It polled 5.9% of all votes and received 27 seats. This result was a surprise in so far as it had been expected to do better than this among the refugees. The fact that this party received only a quarter of the total refugee vote shows to what extent the new citizens have become absorbed and assimilated in Western Germany. The BHE, even prior to the elections, had stood four-square by Chancellor Dr. Adenauer's foreign policy. Its 27 seats therefore gave the previous coalition parties of the government a two-thirds majority. Dr. Adenauer's decision to take the BHE into his second cabinet gave him a government majority with which he will, if necessary, be able to amend the constitution. At the same time, he linked the refugees more closely than before to the fortunes of the new State.

The cabinet was enlarged to include 19 members. This, together with the resignation of some ministers, resulted in a cabinet re-shuffle. Today its composition is as follows:

Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister

Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Economic Co-operation

Minister of the Interior

Minister of Finance

Minister of Economics

Minister of Justice

Minister of Labor

Minister of Housing

Minister of Transport

Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forestry

Minister of Post and Telecommunications

Minister for all-German Affairs

Minister for Matters concerning the Federal Council

Minister for Refugees and Expellees

Minister for Family Affairs

Minister without Portfolio

Dr. Konrad Adenauer (CDU)

Franz Blücher (FDP)

Dr. Gerhard Schröder (CDU)

Fritz Schäfer (CSU)

Prof. Dr. Ludwig Erhard (CDU)

Fritz Neumayer (FDP)

Anton Storch (CDU)

Dr. Viktor-Emanuel Preusker (FDP)

Dr. Hans-Christoph Seebohm (GP)

Dr. Heinrich Lübke (CDU)

Dr. Siegfried Balke (independent)

Jakob Kaiser (CDU)

Heinrich Hellwege (GP)

Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer (BHE)

Dr. Franz-Jos. Wuermeling (CDU)

Dr. Robert Tillmanns (CDU)

Waldemar Kraft (BHE)

Dr. Hermann Schäfer (FDP)

Franz-Josef Strauss (CDU)

A noteworthy result of the elections of September 1953 was the disappearance from the Federal Diet of the extremist groups, above all the communists. None of them could collect enough votes. The communists' proportion of the poll dropped to 2.2%, although in elections in August it was still as much as 5.7%. The extreme right-wing groups could also not muster the necessary minimum

#### MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CABINET



Waldemar Kraft: Minister without Portfolio Dr. Robert Tillmanns: Minister without Portfolio Dr. Hermann Schäfer: Minister without Portfolio

In March, 1789, the king was declared convalescent, so as to be able to resume his duties and defeat those air-drawn schemes of power which his queen was about to assume.

The insulted sovereign thus freed the people for a time from the artful stratagems and devices arising from the charnel house of oppression.

It is certain that his Majesty was free from all violent paroxysms, and generally manifested a quiet and unobtrusive disposition in all things. But then this was the utmost of his improvement. Reason's empire was fatally shaken, and the recollection of the past incapacitated him for forming an opinion either upon the present or the future.

The queen, in the meantime, resolved not to be entirely debarred of her prospects of patronage; for, under the specious disguise of kingly authority, her Majesty gave appointments and honours to the hirelings around her, and carried "majorities" whenever she pleased.

It was not deemed prudent that the king should open the House in person; therefore, the chancellor delivered the speech in the name of his Majesty.

During this session, Mr. Wilberforce pleaded ably for the abolition of West Indian slavery, though to very little advantage.

Some excesses of an unhappy description were practised by the Duke of York; but they were passed over without any public punishment or pa-



Erich Ollenhauer: Leader of the German Socialist Party

of 5%. Among the smaller democratic parties, the federalist Bavarian Party, which had held 15 seats in the first Federal Diet, was completely wiped out. The Center Party managed to retain two seats only by means of an electoral agreement with the CDU. The German Federal Diet, which again elected as its Speaker the CDU deputy Dr. Hermann Ehlers, is now, in its second legislative period, composed as follows:

CDU/CSU	244	plus	6	Berlin representatives who have no vote
SPD	151	"	11	" " " " " "
FDP	48	"	5	" " " " " "
BHE	27			
GP	15			
Center	2			
Total:	487*	plus	22	Berlin representatives who have no vote

At this point, it may be appropriate and useful to say something about German political parties. They, too, have undergone notable changes since the period of the Weimar Republic. During that period (1919—1933) there were, it is true, several large parties, such as the Social Democrats, the German National Party, the Center Party, etc.,

\* Under the German electoral system, half the deputies are elected in the constituencies by a simple majority. The remainder are chosen from lists according to a system of proportional representation. Thus it may happen that a party has more seats in the Diet than its percentage of votes would warrant. This also explains the "discrepancy" of three seats.

but there were also a host of small parties and groups, up to forty of which were at times represented in the Reichstag.

They were destroyed or "assimilated" by National Socialism. The German people have learned a number of useful lessons from the misfortune which National Socialism brought upon it and the world. One of them was the realization that in a parliamentary democracy, freedom and prosperity can only be secure if those who support the State and the democratic order close their ranks. The two-party system according to the Anglo-Saxon pattern is unlikely to come about in Germany, at any rate in the foreseeable future, but politics do increasingly tend to focus on a few large parties. It does not follow, however, as the figures below show, that the number of party members is any indication of a party's real strength in an election. The *Christian Democratic Union* was founded after the collapse of 1945 by and among those who had opposed Hitler and his system because of their Christian convictions. Both Lutherans and Catholics had been persecuted by Hitler. Their common misfortune forged a closer bond between them in the years between 1933 and 1945 than had existed at any time since the Reformation. From this bond there arose, without obscuring their doctrinal differences, the desire for a joint political effort. The CDU has about 200,000 members (excluding its Bavarian counterpart, the CSU, which has retained some of its independence). Most of these members are Catholics. The leadership of the CDU, however, is composed equally of Catholics and Lutherans. A leading representative of the Lutheran wing of the CDU, and one of the most active politicians in the party as a whole, is Church Counsellor Dr. Hermann Ehlers, the Speaker of the Federal Diet. The leader of the CDU since its foundation is Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer. The leader of the CSU, with its 50,000 members, is the Premier of Bavaria, Dr. Hans Ehard.

Apart from its Christian basis, the CDU/CSU has no rigid ideological program. The social demands which the party postulated at the time of its foundation were laid down in the so-called "Ahlen Program". The CDU has particularly close ties with the Catholic and Lutheran churches — especially the Catholic episcopate — with some groups of heavy industry and with the "middle-class block" which comprises commerce and trade as well as civil service and peasant unions. These organizations, however, are not reflected as such in the party's organization.

To protect the interests of Christian Democrats in the Soviet Zone, where the party was "assimilated" in 1948 into the Communist party, the CDU maintains an "East CDU District Organisation" which lives in "exile" in the Federal Republic. The chairman of this group is the former Christian Trade Union leader, Jakob Kaiser, who is Minister for all-German affairs in the Federal Cabinet.

classes of society ; but, alas ! the happiness of the subject was destroyed, while the higher authorities remained not only unimpeached but defended.

During this session, the House was solicited to supply extra sums for the expenditure of the secret service, to which, however, many voices were raised in opposition. The prince and his former friends and companions were now apparently in a state of disunion, as each one appeared dissatisfied with the other.

Mr. Fox proved the most unremitting member of the House in the discharge of his duties, opposing the increase of the national debt, and the imposition of new taxes. The salary of the Speaker of the House of Commons, however, was advanced to six thousand pounds, remonstrance proving of no avail.

About this time, the prince and two of his brothers became so embarrassed by their imprudent conduct, that they found it expedient to resort to some measure for the attainment of means to satisfy the clamorous demands of their creditors. Jews and money-brokers were tried, but to no effect ; and their last resource seemed to be by obtaining the amount desired upon their respective or joint bonds. Every likely person was solicited to grant the loan ; yet, after a long and mortifying attempt, all their endeavours proved fruitless. A large interest was offered, and had the parties been persons of indubitable integrity,



Socialists for whose participation in politics the district organization there has made special efforts. A purge ordered by the party's federal executive put an end to "infiltration" by former Nazi party leaders.

The *German Party*, like the FDP, favors a strong, centralized State. It developed from the Lower-Saxon State Party with its traditional loyalties to the ruling house of the Guelphs. The party still has its strongest roots in Lower Saxony, though it has also spread to other states in the Federal Republic. Its leadership consists of a Directorate, whose chairman is Heinrich Hellwege, the Federal Minister for Matters concerning the Federal Council. The German Party lost many votes and much of its influence when the strongly national-socialist, reactionary Socialist Reich Party stole its thunder. Since the Federal Constitutional Court banned the SRP, the German Party has regained some lost ground. The German Party increased its strength in the first Federal Diet when the Bavarian "Reconstruction Association" — a splinter group led by Loritz, a Munich lawyer — joined its ranks. The German Party has 50,000 members.

Several smaller parties complete the picture of German party politics. Some of these are federalist and confined to individual states. The Bavarian Party represents radically federalist Bavarian interests. It also has some royalist leanings towards the former ruling house of Wittelsbach. The Center Party includes in its platform rigidly Catholic education policy and opposes the Contractual Agreements between the Federal Republic and the Western Allies. It is a splinter group whose importance is confined to Northrhine-Westphalia. In the first Federal Diet the Bavarian and Center parties joined in a "Federalist Union".

The Communists, no longer represented in the Federal Diet, retain a voice only in some state parliaments and local councils. Their political influence has become negligible. Even fanatical adherents of the communist cause have been converted by Soviet Russia's attitude towards Germany, by the treatment of prisoners of war and deported civilians, and not least by conditions in the communist-controlled Soviet Zone. But the Federal Republic, bordering, as it does, on the Iron Curtain, will have to continue to guard with particular care against underground communist activities.

### III.

On September 20, 1949, Chancellor Dr. Adenauer announced to the Federal Diet certain guiding principles for the foreign policy of the first Federal Government. Referring to the "Occupation Statute" which had just come into force, he expressed the desire for an extension of German competence in legislative, executive and judicial matters, as provided for in the revisionary clauses of the Statute. The Bonn government was still under the

control of the Occupying Powers. Its primary aim was inevitably the attainment for Germany of sovereign status, and from there further, to the creation of an independent German policy. As the government statement put it: "The only way to freedom is to attempt, with the approval of the Allied High Commission, to extend our liberties step by step and gradually to increase our spheres of competence."

The second guiding principle was to reconcile and co-ordinate the interests of the Federal Republic with those of her European neighbors — the Benelux countries, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the Scandinavian countries. This was to be achieved within the framework of the Council of Europe — the only body which existed to promote European unity at the time of the Federal Republic's birth. In August 1949, ten European nations had brought the Council of Europe into being "for the protection and promotion of the ideals and principles which are the common European heritage" — thus, the statutes of the Council of Europe, agreed by the "Council of Ten" on May 5, 1949. The Federal Government set itself the task of achieving membership of the Council. The possibility was provided for in Article 24 of the Basic Law. This permits the Federal Republic to



Prof. Dr. Carlo Schmid: Socialist party expert on foreign affairs



*Dr. Heinrich von Brentano: Leader of the Christian Democrats in the Federal Parliament*

delegate sovereign rights to supranational organizations and to join systems of collective security for the purpose of safeguarding peace. In essence this article of the constitution and the first Federal Government's approach to the European Union foreshadowed the idea of "European integration" which was soon to become the dominant principle of Dr. Adenauer's foreign policy.

The future partner of the Federal Republic, the United States of America, was also mentioned in the Bonn Government's first policy statement, though as yet without political aims. "I do not think" — said Chancellor Adenauer — "that ever before in history has a victorious country tried so hard to help the vanquished and to contribute to their recovery and reconstruction as the United States has done and continues to do in the case of Germany." In this way the Chancellor expressed his thanks for Marshall Aid which, since April 1, 1948, had supplied Western Germany with large quantities of food, raw materials and finished goods and laid the foundations for her recovery. The Federal Government's expression of gratitude for Marshall Aid initiated the friendly political contacts with the United States which were to become the third factor in the Federal Government's active foreign policy.

The new government's early steps in the field of European politics were marked by some hesitation. Its first success was the Federal Republic's admission to the Council of Europe — as an associate member in the spring of 1950 and as a full member in May 1951. Simultaneously, the Saar territory was admitted as an associate member, which led to the first serious disagreement on foreign politics between the Federal Government and the opposition. The leader of the SPD, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, opposed Germany's entry into the Council of Europe so long as the Saar was accorded the same privilege. It was the privilege of a "sovereign state", whereas the Saar, according to valid international custom and according to the declarations of the Great Powers, was part of Germany and could consequently have no independent existence. The Federal Government, on the other hand, maintained that Germany must join the Council of Europe in order to have any voice at all in a European assembly. In addition, membership would enable Germany to promote negotiations with the Occupying Powers. The Federal Government therefore accepted the simultaneous admission of the Saar, but made it clear that this implied no surrender on Germany's part of her rights to this portion of her territory.

A notable advance in the sphere of economic independence was the conclusion of the Petersberg Agreement. It was signed on November 22, 1949 on the initiative of the Federal Government. This agreement greatly limited and ultimately stopped the system of dismantling German industrial plant for reparations — a system which the Occupying Powers had introduced during the immediate post-war period. Above all, the agreement improved the government's foreign political position, Dr. Adenauer's constant negotiations with the High Commissioners having brought about, after some initial setbacks, a more friendly atmosphere in their relations. The Petersberg Agreement was not ratified by the Federal Diet, and the decision to dispense with such ratification was sanctioned in 1953 by the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe — the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic. The court gave its ruling in reply to a plea by the SPD. In return for the Petersberg Agreement the Federal Republic offered to associate itself with the Ruhr Statute, under which the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux countries had controlled, ever since 1948, the production and distribution of Ruhr coal and steel. Germany's participation in this formerly one-sided control authority was the first step towards its ultimate dissolution. Little more than six months after the foundation of the Federal Republic, the first plan for European integration began to gather momentum and to forge closer links between the Federal Republic and France in the field of economic co-operation, where differences over the Saar had hitherto tended to keep them apart. The proposal of the French Government and, in particular, the French

abolition of it in very warm and generous language. Mr. Pitt was eloquent on this occasion, and pleaded, most animatedly, in favour of its entire abolition; but the minister was not sincere. A series of resolutions were ultimately agreed upon, and sent up to the lords for their concurrence.

The Duke of Clarence now commenced his parliamentary career, by violently declaiming against the abolition of slavery and its advocates. This caused it to be delayed, and the guilt of Britain increased.

The queen appeared vexed at this circumstance, as she had imagined such a concession would have given great satisfaction, without decreasing her influence at home.

In a private conversation with an illustrious person, some days after this defeat, Mr. Wilberforce said, "He did not believe the queen or the minister were truly desirous of the abolition of slavery; for, if it had been intended by them to be carried, they would have secured it in the Upper House."

After thus trifling with the wishes of the people, it appeared probable that dissatisfaction might arise amongst the middle classes of society; to provide against which, the establishment of a new police for Westminster was proposed and carried.

The year 1793 commenced with the usual aspects, and power appeared to have had a harden-

Foreign Minister, M. Schuman, for the formation of a European coal and steel community found a lively response in Germany and a desire for immediate co-operation. The Federal Government agreed to the Schuman Plan on May 9, 1950, only a day after the Paris declaration on the venture. The experts got to work rapidly on the details of this partial European integration. Meanwhile, Germany's agreement to the plan immediately produced a marked change in the attitude of the outside world towards the Federal Government. If the Federal Republic was to be a member of a European coal and steel community, then the Occupying Powers would have to leave the way open to full sovereignty. For only a state acting independently would be able to take such far-reaching decisions on new forms of supranational co-operation.

The way to sovereignty for the Federal Republic was opened at the New York Conference of Foreign Ministers between the United Kingdom, the United States, and France from 12 to 18 September 1950. The London Six-Power Conference two years previously — in February 1948 — had led to the formation of the Federal Republic and marked the parting of the ways between Russia and the West over Germany. Now, in 1950, the western Foreign Ministers laid the foundations for a partnership between the Federal Republic and the "free world" — the democracies of the West. The need for economic and political co-operation grew into a desire for a military contribution by the Federal Republic to western defence. This occurred largely under the alarming impression of the Korean war. At the New York Foreign Ministers' Conference the "rearmament of Germany" was mentioned for the first time as a political necessity, though no agreement was reached on the methods by which it was to be achieved.

A "little revision" of the Occupation Statute was suggested, on September 19, 1950, to mark the turning point in relations with the Occupying Powers. The Federal Republic was now permitted to create a mobile police force 30,000 strong under a central command. Shipbuilding for export was allowed, the regulations concerning hitherto "prohibited" industries were revised, and an increase in steel production was sanctioned. More important for the future, however, than these still limited concessions, were three decisions on foreign policy. The Federal Republic was permitted to establish a Foreign Ministry, the state of war between victors and vanquished was to be terminated, and the Western Powers guaranteed the territory of the Federal Republic against armed aggression.

The resolution on the security guarantees reads as follows: "The Allied Governments consider that their forces in Germany have, in addition to their occupational duties, also the important rôle of acting as security forces for the protection and defence of the free world, including the German

Federal Republic and the western sectors of Berlin... They will treat any attack against the Federal Republic or Berlin from any quarter as an attack upon themselves." In the years that followed, these military commitments of the Western Powers were several times repeated and elaborated. To make the guarantees more effective, the United Kingdom and the United States in 1951 and 1952 increased the number of their troops stationed in Germany. The security guarantees and the increased number of troops remain, to this day, the Federal Republic's sole protection from aggression.

The "little revision" of the Occupation Statute was delayed for nearly six months after the New York Foreign Ministers' Conference, because the Federal Chancellor was not immediately able to agree to the quid pro quo demanded of the Federal Republic. This was the acknowledgment of the pre-war debts of the former German Reich. The initially incalculable extent of this commitment had caused the foreign affairs committee of the Federal Diet to express doubts which prevented Dr. Adenauer from signing the agreement. Thus the "little revision" came into force only on March 6, 1951. Since then the Federal Republic has re-established its missions abroad, staffed by its own diplomats. It has thereby regained its status in international law.

The work of the experts of six European countries (France, the Federal German Republic, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg) on the Coal and



Ambassador de Faro Jun. of Brazil with President Heuss

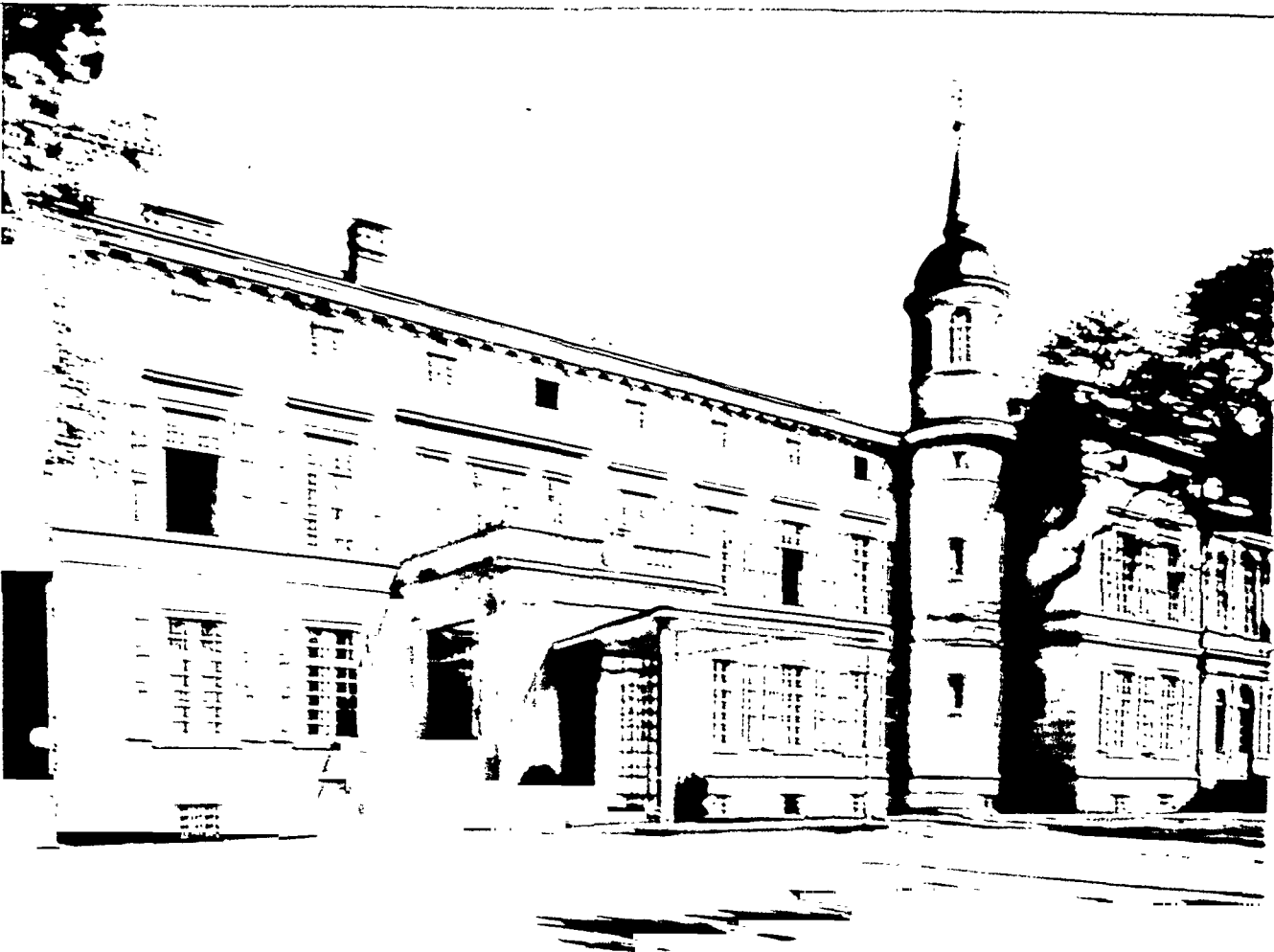
who of course promptly attended. The premier complimented Mr. Canning on his reputation as a scholar and a speaker, and stated that, if he concurred in the policy which government was then pursuing, arrangements would be made to bring him into Parliament. These few words will briefly explain to future generations the manner of introducing members to Parliament by this minister.

Previous to this honourable offer, Mr. Canning belonged to what was then termed "the opposition faction," and among those who were the most violent in their opinions he had been considered and spoken of as their *protégé*. But a seat in Parliament from the hands of a prime minister, who, however haughty and reserved in his general manners, had perhaps, for that very reason, a peculiar power in fixing himself in the minds of those whom he wished to please, was a tempting offer to a young man, conscious of superior talent, but rendered by his situation in life agreeably alive to such flattering and powerful notice. Our readers will hardly feel surprised, then, at his after vacillating conduct, which we shall have occasion frequently to notice.

The Prince of Wales now veered in his political expressions, and deserted his former acknowledged principles, in obedience to the wishes of the queen. The other male branches of the royal family were revelling in the vortex of voluptuousness ; and so



THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND



*Federal Chancellery - Bonn, the Federal Government*

Eighteen nations the Federal Republic asserted its right to an equal equality in contrast to the original French conception. The German negotiators were the Federal Chancellor, the Federal Commissioner Theodor Blank to EDC, deputy of the Federal Minister took up his office at October 22, 1952, and the generals of the former German armed forces. Stiebel (one time chief of staff to Admiral von Heusinger) (one-time chief of operations of the German army). After many crises, which resulted through negotiations for an integrated European army to the brink of failure, an agreement was reached which the participants of several "middle" nations have, however, not ratified. The EDC treaty, together with numerous amendments was initiated by the participating states on May 9, 1951 and signed in Paris on May 27, 1952. The basic idea behind the EDC treaty is the protection of European unity, since an integration of their fighting forces would make wars between the participants impossible. Supranational organizations to European Assembly of the EDC and a Commissioner as its Executive have powers of decision and control within the Community. Its governing body is the Ministerial Council consisting

of the Defence Ministers of member nations. The EDC and the Coal and Steel Community are linked by the "Assembly" and by the "Court of Justice" which will be common to both. Integration extends also to a common budget, i.e., the financing of EDC, and to a common armament program. The largest national unit in the EDC forces is the division, with a fighting strength of about 13,000 men. The total German contribution to the army is to consist of 12 such divisions (armored, mixed and infantry divisions). Army corps will consist of divisions of different nationalities. At this level the European army is already integrated. The EDC treaties raised, for Germany, the constitutional problem whether the Basic Law even permitted rearmament and the introduction of universal military service. The supporters of EDC — the government coalition — answered this question in the affirmative, since defence is an inalienable right of every state. The opposition in the Federal Diet, in particular the SPD and the Centre Party, answered in the negative, saying that the EDC treaties required amendments to the constitution and could therefore be passed through parliament only by a two-thirds majority.

should marry, and that a lady of royal birth be selected, as agreeable to the inclinations of the prince as possible. Upon such an event, the minister would, no doubt, furnish means for his liberation, and a sufficient income for the additional expenses attendant upon such an alliance. The prince received the opinion of his father with varied sensations, and requested time to think upon the proposition, when he would announce the result of his cogitations.

Alas! how much are kings to be pitied! If their principles and intentions be virtuous, what difficulties have they to surmount, what sorrows to endure! This was a trying period for George the Third. On the one hand, he saw the impropriety and cruelty of marriage merely for state policy, and more particularly so in the present instance, as he considered the prince's marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert solemn and binding in the sight of heaven, though certainly in direct opposition to the law of the country, which was in operation at the time it was solemnised. On the other hand, it appeared that a royal marriage was an event that would give great satisfaction to the people, and might, perhaps, reclaim the prince from those considerable errors and obnoxious pursuits in which he was so deeply entangled; for he associated with some of the most unprincipled characters, of whom any person of morality or common decency would certainly have been ashamed.



This constitutional question led in the event to a tense situation in which all the chief organs of the Federal Republic became involved, including the Federal Constitutional Court. This occurred when 146 opposition deputies submitted to the Court the question of the legality of the treaties. The parliamentary battle for the treaties dominated the second half of the legislative period to an extent which caused an unbridgeable rift between the government parties and the opposition. In a highly complicated tactical struggle, the Government succeeded in having the EDC treaty ratified by both the Federal Diet and the Federal Council. It was, incidentally, the first of the member states of the EDC to do so. On July 9 and 10, 1952, the treaty received its first reading in the Federal Diet. The second reading took place on December 2, 1952 and the third on March 19, 1953. The EDC treaty was passed by 224 votes to 165, with 2 abstentions. The Federal Council initially side-stepped a decision in April, but on May 15, 1953 it ratified a number of technical amendments concerning state rights and raised no objections to the main treaty. Thus the parliamentary decision had been taken. But the obstacle of the constitutional test by the Karlsruhe court remained, and has still not been overcome. The Supreme Court has not yet passed judgment on the SPD's constitutional plea that the treaties are incompatible with the principles of the Basic Law. This means that Federal President Heuss has not yet been able to sign and seal the treaties. If the Federal Constitutional Court were to accept the

SPD's constitutional plea and declare the treaties in their present form unconstitutional, then their acceptance by parliament would become invalid. The second Federal Diet would then have to amend the Basic Law in such a way that the EDC treaty, with its military and financial commitments, became compatible with it.

## V.

Matters were complicated for the Federal Republic by the fact that the EDC treaty was linked to a number of other agreements with the Allied Powers. These were to give Western Germany a new status in international law, to replace the "Occupation Statute" and to restore a large measure of sovereignty to the Federal Republic. These agreements, collectively known as the "Contractual Agreements", were linked to the EDC treaty in such a manner that neither treaty can enter into force by itself. The SPD also opposed the Contractual Agreements, which were dealt with and passed by parliament at the same time as the EDC treaty. The SPD widened its plea to the Constitutional Court to include also the Contractual Agreements. Thus the final outcome of the 20 months of negotiations with the United Kingdom, the United States, and France, which preceded the signing of the Contractual Agreements in May 1952, is also still in the balance. Until these agreements, already ratified by the United Kingdom and the United States, have received the Federal President's signature, the Occupation Statute, long since overtaken by political developments, remains in force.

The most important of the agreements is the "Bonn Convention" which outlines Germany's future development in several important points. The Federal Republic's full sovereignty will be restricted after the coming into force of the Contractual Agreements only in so far as the Western Powers retain "in view of the international situation, the rights they have previously exercised in respect of the stationing in Germany of troops and the protection of their security; their rights in respect of Berlin and of Germany as a whole, including the unification of Germany and a settlement by means of a peace treaty". That is to say wherever the Western Allies were once bound by four-power agreements, provisos remain. They protect the rights of the Western Powers to station their troops in Western Germany and West Berlin and to a voice in the reunification of Germany, which is accepted for the first time as a contractual aim. Article 7 of the Bonn Convention reads as follows: "In the event of the unification of Germany, the Three Powers will... extend to a unified Germany the rights which the Federal Republic has under the present Convention and the related Conventions, and will for their part agree that the rights under the treaties for the formation of an integrated European Community should be similarly extended, on the assumption by such a unified



General Eisenhower with the Federal Chancellor

do not know me, madam ; you therefore can have no cause to lament my loss. Learn, then, the secret and unhappy situation of the prince whom they wish you to espouse. I cannot love you ; I cannot make you happy ; my heart has long ceased to be free. She who possesses it is the only woman to whom I could unite myself agreeably to my inclinations. You would find in me a husband who places all his affections upon another. If this secret, which I name to you in confidence, does not cause you to reject me ; if ambition, or any other motive of which I am ignorant, cause you to condescend to the arrangements of my family, learn that, as soon as you shall have given an heir to the throne, I will abandon you, never to meet you more in public. I will then attach myself to that lady whom I love, and whom I will not leave. Such is, madam, my last and irrevocable resolution ; if you are the victim of it, you will be a willing victim, and you cannot accuse me of having deceived you. I am, madam, with great truth,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ GEORGE P.”

After reading this very curious epistle, the reader may presume that the princess was indiscreet in her acceptance of the hand of a prince who so boldly professed himself averse to the union ; but the following letters of George the Third to herself and her mother (the king's sister)

Germany of the obligations of the Federal Republic towards the Three Powers or to any of them under those conventions and treaties. Except by common consent of all signatory States, the Federal Republic will not conclude any agreement or enter into any arrangement which would impair the rights of the Three Powers under those conventions and treaties or lessen the obligation of the Federal Republic thereunder."

All negotiations between the Soviet Government and the Western Powers have been and are based on this paragraph. A voluminous exchange of notes between Moscow, London, Washington and Paris gave proof, as early as 1952, of the Western Powers' firm determination to adhere to the principles of free elections for the whole of Germany, the formation of a government on the basis of such elections, and the formation of a constituent assembly, followed by a freely-negotiated peace treaty with Germany. This exchange of notes was continued and finally resulted, in February 1954, in the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers. At this conference, too, the representatives of the three Western Powers — contrary to Mr Molotov — have solemnly and irrevocably reaffirmed the principle that the reunification of Germany must be preceded by free elections throughout Germany, and that the peace treaty must be concluded — not for but with Germany and its freely-elected government.

In the event of an attack against the Federal Republic or Berlin, or a revolutionary attempt to disturb the free democratic order, or in the event of an acute threat to public safety and order, the Contractual Agreements empower the three Western Powers to declare a state of emergency or to take emergency measures in Germany. But this emergency clause comes into force only if the defence organs of the Federal Republic and the EDC are incapable of mastering the situation. The SPD claimed that the provisos and the emergency clause were incompatible with the Basic Law. This was the opposition's case for their constitutional plea against the Contractual Agreements. The SPD considered these regulations an impermissible interference in the country's sovereign prerogatives and an infringement of the declared principle of equal rights. (See editor's note, page 65.)

The Contractual Agreements included a number of specific agreements. A transfer agreement regulated the liquidation of war and occupation, an armed forces agreement the continued presence on German soil of Allied security forces. A finance agreement guaranteed the sums which the Federal Republic is required to provide for the security forces and for its "financial contribution" to the EDC. To establish the amount of this financial contribution, German financial experts, led by Finance Minister Schäffer, struggled in protracted diplomatic negotiations with the aim of reconciling the heavy financial burden of rearmament with the limited resources of the Federal budget.

Occupation costs had gradually risen from 4,500 million DM in 1945 to about 8,800 million DM in 1952. The budget for 1953 provided 9,900 million DM for occupation costs and contributions to EDC. For 1954 expenditure on these counts was estimated at a maximum of 10,300 million DM. However, in view of the further delays in the establishment of EDC, actual expenditure is unlikely to reach the estimates for 1953/54 and 1954/55.

At the end of 1952, the Federal Republic proposed the formation of a European Political Community which was to complete and crown the work begun with the Coal and Steel Community and the European Defence Community. This was to be the "roof" organization of the union of European countries of the Coal and Steel Community. In September 1952 the Foreign Ministers of the Coal and Steel Community instructed the Community's Assembly to draft a European constitution. Thereupon, a "special assembly" and a European constituent commission completed a "draft treaty for the constitution of the European Community" within the surprisingly short space of six months. This European constitution was approved by a special session of the six member countries on March 10, 1953, against the votes of the German Social Democrats. It provides for an Executive independent of national governments and based on a two-chamber parliament. One chamber is a Senate elected by the national parliaments, the other a People's Chamber elected by universal suffrage in the member countries. The European Political Community, together with the European Defence Community, is to form a legal entity. Some of the most important organs — at any rate the parliament and the court of justice, are to be common to both.

A series of conferences of Foreign Ministers and experts during the second half of 1953 was to have promoted the birth of the European Union. The Western Powers' preparations for the Berlin Four Power Conference delayed governmental work on European integration. At the end of the first legislative period of the Federal Republic, the fate of the European Political Community, despite auspicious beginnings, was still uncertain. The German Social Democrats rejected the plan because of their fundamental doubts about a "Little Europe" solution. They are more in favour of a union which would, from the start, provide for the admission of other European nations besides Italy, France, the Federal Republic, and the Benelux countries. The successful work on the constitution of the European Political Community was completed under the chairmanship of the German CDU deputy Dr. Heinrich von Brentano.

## VI.

The future of the Saar remained unsettled during the period of Dr. Adenauer's first government. Despite many efforts, the German Federal Government

"P. S. Do not delay a reply an hour longer than can be avoided.

*"To Caroline, Princess of Brunswick," etc.*

*Copy of a Letter to the Duchess of Brunswick, from her brother, George the Third.*

"MY DEAR SISTER:—I have endeavoured to excite and promote in the mind of my son George a desire to espouse my dear niece Caroline. This, I am aware, he will only consent to as a prudent step by which his debts may be paid. I will trust to your influence with Caroline that she may not be offended with anything he pleases to say. He may please to plead that he is already married!—and I fear he will resort to any measures rather than an honourable marriage. But, as, in my former letters, I have explained my wishes upon this subject, I therefore need not now repeat them. Tell my dear niece she must never expect to find a mother or friend in the queen; but I will be her friend to my latest breath. Give me your support, my sister, and prevail upon my niece Caroline at all hazards.

"Yours affectionately,

"GEORGE R."

A courier was despatched with these preliminaries of a royal marriage, and the prince again sank into the depths of vice. The queen saw her path was rather difficult, and feared for the con-



*The President of the Federal Republic with foreign diplomatic representatives at the 1954 New Year reception*

did not succeed in reaching an agreement with France which would have taken account both of the German juristic view that the Saar is, in law, a part of Germany and therefore not to be separated from the Federal Republic, and France's justified economic interests in the territory. In the days of four-power control under the Allied Control Council, the French Government succeeded, in 1946, in practically separating the Saar from the French Occupation Zone, and incorporating it in the French Union. The first "Saar Conventions" were concluded between the French-sponsored Saar Government of Herr Hoffmann and the French Foreign Ministry on March 4, 1950. Under them, France leased the Saar coal mines, which were German state property, for a period of fifty years. France made herself responsible for the military security and diplomatic representation of the Saar. By means of a general clause, she reserved for herself the right to intervene at any time in the affairs of the "Saar Republic". As early as 1947, a Saar constitution sponsored by France contained the provision that the Saar was "an autonomous state, independent of Germany and linked economically with France". Thereafter, any democratic party in the Saar which did not recognize this preamble was excluded from the poli-

tical life of the territory. This led, among other incidents, such as the deportation by the French authorities of political undesirables, and occupational and residential discrimination, to German notes of protest to the Council of Europe at Strasbourg against "undemocratic conditions in the Saar".

So far the Council of Europe, of which the Saar is an associate member, and to whose "convention on human rights" it is committed, has not debated these complaints. Repeated attempts by France at international conferences to have her claims to the Saar recognized and its separation from Germany legalized have failed. The United States and Great-Britain insisted that the ultimate fate of the Saar could only be decided by a freely-negotiated German peace treaty, that the Saar was German territory within the 1937 frontiers, and that its people must be permitted to determine their own status and affairs. The Soviet Government, too, opposed the French demand for Saar autonomy at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1946.

France, therefore, could achieve no more than the Saar's economic union with her and the retention of control over the licensing of political parties and over the administration of the Saar's entire industry. Even in the elections for a Saar Diet of November 30, 1952, the "opposition" parties

## CHAPTER VI.

The Influence of Secrecy—A Ministerial Despot—Princess Caroline to Prince George—Preparations for the Marriage—A Princess Suffers—Debauchery—"A Fine Girl"—A Disastrous War—"Truth Forbids Silence"—Machinations against the Princess—Ireland—Still Further Taxation—"The Pilot that Weathered the Storm"—An Increase in Income—Disproportionate Incomes.

**N**OW much has guilt to fear from exposure by truth! Secrecy was the ministerial watchword then in vogue, and though fallacious and destructive, as experience has demonstrated the principle to be, yet the nation was cajoled by its influence, and even induced indirectly to sanction measures the most desperate and ruinous that imagination can depict.

The hireling part of the press, notwithstanding, strove to eternise this awful and barbarous system, and thus assisted the minister to cherish the growth of ignorance. Indeed, it is an undeniable fact, that the corruption of government pervaded every branch of Mr. Pitt's administration; but surely this minister must have been sometimes afraid that the people would discover the frauds and impositions practised upon them, and demand satisfaction. Mr. Pitt, indeed, was an apostate,



*President Heuss in conversation with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles*

(CDU, Democratic Party, Saar SPD) were not permitted to put forward candidates. The chairman of the Saar's united trade union, Paul Kutsch, who belonged to the opposition, was dismissed from office. The miners' federation, of which he was also president, was compulsorily dissolved, despite a judgment by the Saarbruecken district court which declared Kutsch's dismissal illegal. This incident had a sequel in the fall of 1953, when the miners' federation lodged a complaint with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. It was the first time that the Saar question was ventilated internationally in the United Nations. In the early summer of 1953, the French Government revised the "Saar Conventions", giving the Saar Government a greater degree of autonomy in the administration of the coal mines. These conventions, like their predecessors, were not recognized by the Federal Republic. Just before the end of its legislative period, early in July 1953, the Federal Diet once again defined its rights to the Saar territory. The resolution was agreed to by all parties with the exception of the Communists. The Federal Government's proposals for a mixed German-French commission of experts to examine objectively the economic interests of both countries, as well as the level of production, was rejected

by France late in 1952 and early in 1953. France argued that the economic question of the Saar could not be discussed until the political question had been settled in principle.

The French National Assembly has since linked the Saar problem with the treaties between Germany and the Western Powers. Since the departure from the French Foreign Ministry, early in 1953, of M. Schuman, who was prepared to reach an agreement, every succeeding French Government has been pledged to make ratification of the Contractual Agreements conditional on a prior binding agreement with the Federal Republic on Saar autonomy.

In 1951 and 1952 the German Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer and the French Foreign Minister, M. Schuman, tried to solve the problem, which was progressively poisoning relations between the two countries, by giving the Saar "European status". These efforts bore no fruit. On the German side there arose the idea of making Saarbruecken the first integrated European city, of giving it the status of a "European suburb" and lodging there all the agencies of the European Union. Experts of all the member countries of the Coal and Steel Community examined the possibilities of this scheme in 1952, but rejected it. So far, no

realm was deploring the disgraces and defeats of the British arms, insult the people with affected serious congratulations on the successes that had been obtained by the allied powers, and the happy change that had taken place in their favour? Yes, reader, these acts may be taken as specimens of the policy of the "heaven-born minister that weathered the storm," as a certain chancellor once imprudently designated Mr. Pitt.

The courier, bearing the despatches to the Princess of Brunswick, arrived at the court of her father in October, where he delivered his packet, and was entertained with generous and courteous attention. The duke and duchess retired to peruse its contents, which they read with agitation; and hope and fear strove tumultuously to gain an ascendancy. The king's letter was considered, in a certain degree, explanatory of the follies of the prince, though it did not name any vices; and as it also expressed a confident opinion, that, united to a person of amiability and worth, like the princess, all good would ensue, the parents of the princess were inclined to hope for a favourable result from the alliance. The good opinion of the king, their brother, was an extra inducement to the fond and indulgent parents of Caroline to plead in behalf of her acceptance of this offer; and all must admit their conduct to be natural and affectionate.

The letter of the prince was soon after delivered





ness threatens me. But, if you could read that heart to which you impart such anguish, you would perhaps have feelings of remorse from this barbarous treatment, in which your Royal Highness appears to boast. I am now resolved to await from time and our union the just regard I will endeavour to merit; and I trust that your regret for what you have written will, in some measure, avenge the wrongs you have so wantonly committed. Believe me, my lord, that I shall not cease to offer my prayers for the happiness of your Royal Highness; mine will be perfect if I can contribute to yours.

“I am, for life, your most devoted cousin,

“CAROLINE AMELIA OF BRUNSWICK.”

We have given this and the preceding letters solely with a view of forwarding the cause of truth, and shall leave our readers to draw their own inferences as to the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the parties concerned.

Early in the ensuing year, 1795, preparations were made, upon a moderate scale, to receive the Princess of Brunswick as the intended wife of the heir apparent.

The prince was still as dissolute as ever, and associated with the very dregs of society, of both sexes. Yet this same personage was about to be allied, according to the outward usages of the Church, to a princess of the most opposite princi-

extreme right-wing Socialist Reich Party (SRP) which was subsequently (1952) suppressed and dissolved by decree of the Federal Constitutional Court.

Federal organizations and the states are bound by the law for the protection of the constitution to support each other in all matters concerning the protection of the constitution and to exchange information and intelligence about subversive activities. The states have their own offices for the protection of the constitution which take independent action. In the protection of democratic institutions they are the "extended arm" of the Federal Ministries of the Interior and of Justice. Dr. Otto John was appointed first president of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

The "Blank Office" was created to prepare the way for a future defence ministry within the framework of the European Defence Community. Pending the ratification of the agreements between Germany and the Western Allies, Theodor Blank, a CDU deputy in the Federal Diet and a former trade union leader, was given the title of "Security Commissioner" and the status of a state secretary. When negotiations began in 1951 for a German defence contribution, Blank and his staff were given the task of asserting, in the conferences of EDC experts in Paris and in talks with the High Commissioners in Bonn, the Federal Republic's equal rights within the integrated European army. They also had to prepare all future defence legislation, in the light of the novel conditions arising from the renunciation of a national army. A voluntary service law was drafted for the first German cadets. Disciplinary regulations and court martial procedure were prepared in outline. There were also plans for armament programs and military research. Finally, there were memoranda on the civic education of future conscripts.

The busy work of the Blank Office was interrupted by further negotiations when, after the conclusion of the EDC treaty, France wished to ensure the survival of her own national army through "additional protocols". The experts of the six EDC countries agreed on a compromise which preserved the principles of the treaty while simultaneously making concessions to France's special needs.

Theodor Blank concluded his preparatory work with a visit to the United States, where he gained an insight into the organization of the United States army and into the strategic plans of the NATO staffs for the event of a conflict with the Soviet Union. These strategic plans remained a persistent subject of public debate in Germany throughout the period of Dr. Adenauer's first government. The main point at issue was whether, in the event of an attack, the Federal Republic would be "actively defended on the ground" on the Elbe or the Rhine, or whether the Atlantic Powers envisaged only a "peripheral defence" which would

mean abandoning, in the initial stages, German territory to the enemy from the East. These strategic problems repeatedly led to heated controversies between the government parties and the opposition.

The strategic decisions and considerations of NATO naturally remained secret. Amending agreements between EDC and NATO defined their mutual obligations for common defence and ensured permanent close co-operation between the EDC Council of Ministers and the Atlantic Council.

The internal order of the Federal Republic was further strengthened by the Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe. Its powers are considerably wider than those of the constitutional courts of other countries. It has jurisdiction over the legality of political parties, over the withdrawal of constitutional rights from citizens convicted of unconstitutional actions, as well as over constitutional complaints by citizens against the State. The Court was established by a law passed on March 12, 1951. This law has been the subject of much political controversy. It provided for a two-Senate court, each Senate consisting of 12 constitutional judges. One half of the judges for each Senate are elected by the Federal Diet and the other by the Federal Council, sitting as a joint "judge-electing committee". Election is by a two-thirds majority. Being parliamentary nominees, some of the judges have political ties, a fact which has led to much public criticism. So far, however, the Constitutional Court's judgments have in no case been influenced by political considerations. The suggestion that the law of the Federal Republic's Supreme Court is partial can consequently be dismissed.

### VIII.

Only when the "little revision" of the Occupation Statute permitted the establishment of a Foreign Office in Bonn could the Federal Republic resume normal relations with other countries. Since April 1950 there had existed within the office of the Federal Chancellor an "Office for Foreign Affairs", head of which was State Counsellor Haas, of Bremen (now Minister in Ankara). This office laid the foundations for the Foreign Office. At that time the Federal Republic was already a full member of OEEC (Office for European Economic Co-operation), of EPU (European Payments Union), and of the Bank for International Settlements. Today the Federal Republic is a member of more than thirty international organizations and maintains close relations with the United Nations through a permanent observer, who is the German Consul-General in New York, Dr. Hans Riesser.

The foreign service was established on the principle that the Federal Republic's foreign policy must be in line with the Charter of the United Nations and that the greatest emphasis must be placed on international co-operation. The Contractual Agreements with the three Western Powers

*Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Princess of  
Wales*

Photogravure from an engraving by Schroeder



*The Arabian Crown Prince Faisal in conversation with Federal Minister of Economics Professor Erhard*

assure such a foreign policy of support. The Western Powers agree to sponsor the Federal Republic's admission to other international organizations whose aims are in harmony with those of the free world. The admission of Germany to full membership of the United Nations is the ultimate aim of this policy.

The first German diplomatic missions abroad were the consulates-general set up in London, New York, and Paris in 1950. Two years later the three Consuls-General were promoted to the rank of *Chargés d'Affaires*. In the summer of 1953, without waiting for the Contractual Agreements to come into force, they were given the personal rank of ambassador. As a result, a "normal" diplomatic status has been established with the Occupying Powers. Meanwhile, the Federal Republic has established diplomatic missions everywhere in the free world. She has not been permitted to establish contacts with the Soviet Union or her satellites. The Soviet Union has not so far recognized the Federal Republic.

The Federal Republic's diplomatic network in Europe is complete. Only the Holy See still lacks a German mission, although the Vatican has for years maintained a nuncio — Archbishop Muench — in Bonn. In North and South America, too, the

network of diplomatic representation is well-nigh complete. Consular representation is less far advanced in the Near East. Slowest of all is the establishment of German representation in Africa. Within the next year or eighteen months, 135 German diplomatic missions are expected to function, in addition to 400 honorary consulates for which, however, sufficient personnel is not at present available. All missions are visited periodically by inspectors of the Foreign Office in Bonn, which ensures close contact between Headquarters and the missions abroad.

In all other respects the organization of the new Foreign Office conforms to the principles which have long been established in the Foreign departments of civilised countries. For the training of recruits an academy for the diplomatic and consular service has been organized at Speyer (Spire). Here, aspirants for the intermediate grades undergo an eighteen-month's period of training. There has been a very marked lack of suitable candidates for the higher grades of the foreign service. Its personnel policy has repeatedly been debated in the Federal Diet, and a parliamentary committee has investigated allegedly unsuitable appointments and effected changes in the organization of the service.



The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Diet, whose sessions are secret, has played an increasingly important part in foreign policy decisions. It has also been responsible for most of the task of scrutinizing the mass of treaties designed to free the Federal Republic's foreign political prestige from the consequences of the war.

Next to the European treaties, the treaty of restitution with Israel and the London agreement on German debts have done most to restore Germany's moral and economic credit. The Federal Government hopes that the economic settlement with the Jews will be followed in due course by the resumption of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

The London debt agreement, ratified by the Federal Diet in July 1953, settled the German Reich's obligations of World Wars I and II, and created an opportunity for new international investment in, and credit policy towards the Federal Republic.

In the sphere of cultural relations the Foreign Office has developed a steadily increasing activity. It promoted the German academic exchange service and a considerable number of exchange programs. It fostered many international associations which serve international understanding. The

Federal Government's close contacts with UNESCO should not be forgotten in this connection.

At the time of the Federal Republic's foundation, there lived on its territory, in addition to the indigenous population, about nine million expellees, refugees from the Soviet Zone of Occupation, homeless foreigners, and foreign political refugees. The care of the Displaced Persons (DP's), that is to say the homeless foreigners, was, until 1947, the responsibility of UNRRA, and later of the IRO. Hundreds of thousands of these people were returned by these organizations to their homes or sent to a new country willing to receive them. A federal law was passed on April 25, 1951 concerning "the legal position of homeless foreigners". Under this law the Federal Republic has taken over the care of those DP's who still remain in Germany.

The care for the millions of Germans who were expelled or fled from the East has at all times been a purely German concern. It has become one of the major problems of German internal and welfare policy. It is a problem which has been mitigated but by no means solved. A permanent solution will probably only be possible with foreign help.



Mr. Martin (left), Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, in conversation with Dr. Gerstenmaier (right), Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee

unreservedly. His Majesty was much incensed at the indignation heaped upon the daughter of his sister, and, but for the apparent situation of his niece, he would have recommended severer measures than he then thought prudent.

In opposition to all remonstrance and advice, the prince gradually sunk deeper into the vortex of sensuality, and very frequently expressed himself in high hopes that the princess would soon "be got rid of." He still remained ignorant of the confidence the princess had reposed in her uncle; and well was it for her he was ignorant of it, as his passion was extreme, and rage might have gained such a preëminence as to have induced him to add another foul deed to his number.

This fatal year, more than twenty-nine millions were required, eighteen of which were raised by loans. Here may be observed how progressively the "national debt" was incurred, partly for the immoderate extravagance of those who ought to have acted as models for imitation at home, and partly by unjust and destructive wars abroad, until Englishmen became anything and everything but a free people. The discontents of the taxpayers were loud and deep; but the ministers heeded them not.

On the 7th of January, 1796, the Princess of Wales was safely delivered of a daughter, whose birth, in some measure, assuaged the miseries of her forlorn condition. The Duke of Clarence



## IX.

The first German Federal Diet enacted, in 282 plenary sessions, more than 500 laws and statutes and passed hundreds of resolutions on foreign and economic policy — many of them at the end of several days of full-dress debate. The detailed discussions of the annual Federal budget alone occupied several weeks on each occasion. In the first years of the Federal Republic's existence it was not possible to pass the budget until after the end of the financial year.

In its general legislative work the Federal Diet was faced with three main tasks. It had to replace with democratic laws the legislation and legal code of the Hitler era, thus forging a link with the legal tradition of the Weimar Republic. It had also to decide whether to adopt the laws and orders of the era of Allied Military Government or to adapt them to the conditions of a sovereign German State. Finally, it had to co-ordinate the laws of the Weimar era with the new constitution or to amend them where required.

The Federal Diet did not complete this three-fold task. In the cultural sphere, for instance, it was not found possible to pass laws on press, cinema or radio. Nor was a law passed regulating party political activities. In particular, no legal basis could be found for compelling parties to disclose their financial affairs. Regulations were only partially completed for professional bodies with legal functions. Uniformity in the laws administered by the courts, however, was restored.

On the initiative of the Federal Ministry of Justice, uniformity was achieved in the fields of criminal and civil law. At the same time, however, divergent political developments in the Eastern Zone led to new differences in legal theory and procedure between Western and Soviet-occupied Germany. These differences are bound to become increasingly glaring the longer the division of Germany lasts. Justice in the Eastern Zone is no longer independent. The "separation of powers" has been abolished and justice become part of the administration. Legal rulings have consequently become government decisions.

A survey in the "Deutschland Year Book" (edited by Dr. Heinrich Schulte and Dr. Klaus Mehnert, published by the Westfälische Verlagskontor, Essen, 1953) reveals how great these divergencies in the law and its application were even in 1953. The year book reveals a particularly serious divergence in the development of civil law. Initially, the courts and the administration in the Federal Republic tried to apply the new law of the Soviet-occupied Zone. This proved impracticable. The contrast between democratic and authoritarian conceptions of justice was an unbridgeable gulf.

The Federal Diet approved, as a new code of justice, a number of acts altering the criminal law.

In particular, they strengthened the State's defences against treason, high treason and against the novel concept of "treason against the constitution". Laws safeguarding the State contained in the old German criminal code had been declared invalid after 1945 by the Occupying Powers. These laws could be suitably amended and re-established only after the restoration of German sovereignty. In accordance with the Basic Law, the Federal Republic renounced the death penalty. After serious bomb outrages in Bremen and Verden-on-the-Aller, and after an attempt on the life of the Federal Chancellor, a minority in parliament made repeated efforts to have it restored. These attempts failed. The calamitous mass executions carried out by the Nazi regime on the basis of "emergency legislation" influenced the Federal Diet in its decision. The Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe was established as the supreme court of criminal and civil causes. *It perpetuates the tradition of the former Reich Court of Justice in Leipzig and its authoritative judgments.* Parliament also devoted lengthy sittings to social and labor legislation and to the disciplinary code for civil servants. It kept the administrative courts, including the Federal Administrative Court in Berlin, under constant review. Many volumes of the Federal Diet's minutes are filled with debates on juridical policy. They show the extent to which the Federal Diet was impressed with the need to restore firm foundations of law for the individual and the nation as a whole, after an era of utter lawlessness.

Laws were passed in the Federal Diet by a variety of majorities. As a rule, they consisted of the government coalition parties — CDU/CSU, FDP and GP. Some basic legislation was also approved by the SPD opposition. A few laws were "pushed through" by a coalition of one or two government parties in alliance with the SPD.

Despite more than a few disagreements, the three coalition parties continued for four years steadily to pursue the aims they had set themselves in 1949. Their common interests were based, at the beginning of the legislative period, on their agreement on the need for an "enlightened free enterprise economy" as opposed to the controlled and "planned" economy long advocated by the SPD. Later this bond was strengthened by common aims in foreign politics: the joint road to sovereignty for the Federal Republic and the treaties between Germany and the Allies. The overriding importance of foreign politics and the increasing prestige abroad of Chancellor Adenauer relegated differences of opinion among the middle-class coalition parties to the background. Moreover, policy successes at home and abroad resulted in quickening the interest in politics of large sections of the population which had previously been indifferent and apathetic. This was proved by the elections of September 6, 1953.

debased, or his sense of virtue altogether lost ; but this fond, this very natural, hope was doomed to disappointment, and while this desolate lady was nursing her tenderly beloved child, the prince was walking and riding out, openly and shamelessly, with Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady Jersey. Would not the poor cottager have felt abashed to hear of his fellow labourer's similar conduct, even in the most humble station of life, who must, of necessity, be devoid of ten thousand advantages this personage had derived from birth and education ? Yes, doubtless ; and he who could so act deserved no other appellation than that of a voluptuous brute.

It was much to be regretted, at this time, that all the very heavy taxation and increase of debt were said to be in consequence of the "king's great predilection for the lavish expenditures of the royal family, and his anxious determination to continue the disastrous war." Such were not his Majesty's desires, but exactly the reverse ; though, unfortunately, his opinions were always overruled by the queen.

A formal separation took place this year between the Prince and Princess of Wales, and certainly her Royal Highness deserved much more general sympathy than she then experienced. The nobility appeared uncertain which side to espouse, and therefore, for want of principle to do that which their consciences said was right, they fell



*and their mothers at the airport on arrival in West Berlin*

The Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union in February 1954 focussed the eyes of the entire world on Germany and Berlin. The conference was to try to find a common basis between East and West for the unification of Germany. The attempt was unsuccessful. It was unsuccessful because the Russians once again refused to agree to the first step towards unification: free elections throughout Germany. Instead, they demanded that the Occupying Powers sponsor the formation of a "provisional" government which would sign the peace treaty. In the Russian view this "government" was to consist of representatives of the Federal Republic and of the Soviet Zone regime. Such a solution would have been out of the question, since the officials who govern the so-called "German Democratic Republic" from Berlin Pankow have never received a mandate through free elections. They are communists or willing fellow-travellers who have, to all intents and purposes, been directed to their offices from Moscow. Appropriately enough, it was the Soviet army, with its bayonets and tanks, which

saved them when the communist revolution rose against them on June 17, 1953.

In all questions concerning the unification of Germany, the "Potsdam Agreement" of August 2, 1945, by which the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union agreed on a common policy towards Germany, plays a crucial part. For its legal basis remains intact despite the cold war and despite the fact that its presence has long been ignored. What then was the content of the Potsdam Agreement?

It decreed full Allied Power control over "Germany as a whole". This was based on the assumption that it would take a long time before Germany would once again be in a position to decide her own destiny. Though the Agreement did not discuss Germany, the Allied Powers conceived of this initially in economic terms and of a broad and heavily controlled scope. At best it would receive a greater or lesser secretariat with administrative functions. It certainly did not receive an independent government, Demilitarization, complete control of industry, demobilization and demobilization — these were the aims of the occupation during the first few years. Germany was to be reduced to

memorable letter to the princess in the preceding year, say, "Our inclinations are not suited to each other." He was correct; they were not suited; neither did the Princess Caroline ever desire they should be, because General Lee could testify that the prince had more propensities than propriety suggested.

In this most pressing and trying case, when the mind of the Princess of Wales was wrought up to the greatest point of agony, she resolved upon an interview with the queen, when her Royal Highness told her that Carlton House could no longer be inhabited by her, as the infamous scenes she was too often obliged to witness were of a description so notoriously abominable that common decency was grossly outraged. Her Majesty supported the right of the prince to choose his own associates, and at the same time stated, as her opinion, that it was very disagreeable to the prince to have her in town at all, and it was proper the princess should remove to some distance agreeable to herself, where the prince might not be under the necessity of meeting her, when he had occasion to spend any time at the palace.

It will readily be presumed the princess left the presence of the haughty queen with a heart full of disappointment and chagrin. Her Royal Highness found herself surrounded by persons on whose confidence she could not depend; because every one appeared in awe of the queen. She

the level of a mainly agricultural state whose industrial production would be just sufficient for her own requirements. The Potsdam decisions on this subject were inspired by the conceptions of the American politician Morgenthau, who wanted to turn Germany into an agrarian state and to exclude her as a competitor from world markets. The Potsdam Agreement contained regulations for a future German peace treaty which were soon to lead to sharp differences of opinion. It referred to the decisions of the Yalta Conference of February 12, 1945 (a few months before the Allied victory in Europe) and decreed that the town of Königsberg and a large part of East Prussia should be "provisionally" ceded to the Soviet Union. In addition, all former German territory "east of the Oder-Neisse line" (that is: the provinces of East and West Prussia, Silesia and parts of Pomerania and Brandenburg) should come under Polish administration and the German population of these areas be deported. This deportation was carried out — not, as the Potsdam decisions stipulated, "in an orderly and humane manner", but with the utmost brutality. One important reservation, however, was completely and knowingly overlooked both by the Soviet Union and by Poland. This was that the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line can, in fact, only be administered by them but not separated from Germany because — as the Potsdam Agreement says — "the final demarcation of Poland's western frontier shall await the peace conference".

This perfectly clear passage in the Potsdam Agreement was soon infringed and unilaterally violated.

Poland, with the approval of the Soviet Union, staked a formal claim to the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line and tried to achieve a permanent settlement with the "German Democratic Republic", that is to say the Soviet Union's east German puppet government. This was accomplished on June 6, 1950 by the "Warsaw Declaration", in which Poland and Eastern Germany formally agreed to "establish and declare inviolable the existing frontier of peace and friendship on the Oder and Western Neisse." Neither the Federal Republic nor the Western Powers have ever recognised this agreement. For the free world, the Potsdam Agreement remains in force, which says that the final German frontiers can only be established in a peace treaty with Germany — with the added difference, moreover, that in the western view a peace treaty can only be concluded with a freely-elected German government, whereas the Soviet Union considers that the Potsdam Agreement provides for a dictated peace.

In his first policy statement of July 20, 1949, the German Federal Chancellor roundly declared that "the severance of the territories beyond the Oder and Neisse is contrary not only to the Potsdam Agreement but also to the Atlantic Charter of 1941, to which the Soviet Union gave its express approval. The terms of the Atlantic Charter are unequivocal. The General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution on November 3, 1948 requesting the Great Powers to conclude peace treaties as soon as possible. The Federal Republic will continue to press its claims to these territories by due processes of law."



*After establishment of their bona fides Soviet Zone refugees are flown to West Germany from Tempelhof Airfield, Berlin*

The intrigues of the Duke of York were also of a most abandoned character; and the other brothers merit some notice in the "*Annals of Infamy.*" During Frederick's residence in Germany, he contracted habits and indulged in excesses abhorrent to human nature, and we should be spared much deep humiliation, as Englishmen, if we had not occasion to recur again to these sickening facts; but the recording angel of truth forbids our silence, and we must not, therefore, disobey her mandate.

The year 1799 will be remembered, and reference made to it, as long as humanity can reflect upon the desolations and calamities occasioned by war. The earth, in many quarters, was covered with "killed and wounded," while the money of the tax-payers paid the legal assassins.

In the meantime the minister at home was rack-  
ing his brains how new taxes might be levied to supply the means for the continuation of carnage. Property, liberty, — nay, even life itself, were deemed toys in the hands of Mr. Pitt, whose passions seemed to centre in rapine, enmity, and ambition. His heart was steeled against the cry of the widow and the plaintive sigh of the destitute orphan. The queen's account in the day of retribution must also be rather enormous, for the minister acted in concert with her in this complicated trickery. Mr. Pitt and the queen seemed to think their only part consisted in draining the resources

When, as a result of Russia's behavior, Four-Power control in Germany collapsed on March 20, 1948, the two parts of Germany developed according to diametrically opposed principles. The Federal Republic grew into a democratic state based on the rule of law, the Eastern Zone and East Berlin into a dictatorship after the Soviet pattern. Even the attempt to maintain at least economic if not political unity was frustrated by the Soviet Government's policy of isolating and sealing off the territory under its control. This policy culminated in the Berlin blockade of 1948-49.

There followed the Conference of Deputy Foreign Ministers at the Palais Rose in Paris. Between May 23 and June 20, 1949 it could not even agree on an agenda. The Soviet Union, despite the changed global situation, wanted a "return to Potsdam". The Western Powers refused to abandon the progress already made with the "Occupation Statute" and its increased powers in the question of the establishment of a democratic west German Government.

The chief Soviet delegate, Mr. Vyshinsky, refused to permit the application of the Occupation Statute to the whole of Germany or to discuss the preliminaries to German unification until the principle of a dictated peace had been accepted. This made any compromise impossible. The Western Powers' aims were precisely the opposite: a freely and democratically elected government for the whole of Germany with which a peace treaty could subsequently be negotiated.

Two years later precisely the same differences were the subject of a lengthy exchange of notes on the unification of Germany between the Soviet Government and the Western Powers. By this time, in consequence of the final division of Germany and of Soviet aggression in Korea, relations between East and West had further deteriorated and inter-zonal trade shrunk almost to vanishing point. The exchange of notes, which continued from March to September, was further prejudiced by the Soviet Union's stubborn refusal to allow a United Nations Commission to enter the Eastern Zone to investigate the possibility of holding free elections throughout Germany. This Commission, composed of delegates from Brazil, Iceland, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and Poland, was appointed by the United Nations General Assembly on December 20, 1950. The Federal Government gave it full facilities, the East Zone Government none. In the exchange of notes of 1952 the Soviet Union rejected any kind of impartial commission. It demanded instead a commission composed either of the Four Powers — that is to say a return to the Potsdam system of Four-Power control — or of representatives of the Federal Government and the East Zone Government. This would have resulted in parity between East and West which would in practice have meant a preponderance for the Soviet-controlled state. In their replies, the Western Powers insisted on a

neutral investigating commission and indicated that a return to the political arrangements of Potsdam was out of the question.

The western point of view, which was endorsed by the Federal Diet and reaffirmed between 1951 and 1953 in various special motions and in full accord between the major parties, can be defined in the following terms: before there can be any discussion on a peace treaty, an all-German Government must be formed on the basis of free elections throughout Germany. From the start, this all-German Government should take part, on a footing of equality, in the peace conference which would decide the territorial problem of Germany's ultimate frontiers and her membership of a collective security system. Federal laws for the international investigating commission and for all-German elections have been ready since 1952. The Federal Diet also determined, in a series of sittings in 1953 (the last on June 10), the sequence in which preparations for a national constituent assembly should proceed. Thus the sovereign organ of the Federal Republic has laid down a detailed and final program for a German policy.

After the riots in the Eastern Zone and East Berlin on June 17, 1953, the Federal Diet added to this program for the unification of Germany a six-point resolution. This prepared the ground for national and international "emergency aid" to help restore personal and civil liberties in the Eastern Zone if the Soviet Government should permit free elections throughout Germany. These liberties include the right of free travel for all Germans, the opening of the zonal frontier, freedom of press and of assembly, and the licensing of all political parties throughout Germany.

After the death of the Soviet dictator Stalin on March 5, 1953, the German question entered upon a new stage. There were signs of a possible change in Soviet policy and in this context the German question automatically re-emerged. The new President of the United States, President Eisenhower, when outlining his plan for world peace in April 1953, explicitly referred to the need for Germany "to be free and united". In a series of international exchanges, a joint western initiative was agreed in the event of an effective change in Soviet policy. The first of these conferences took place between the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, France and the United States in Washington at the beginning of July. In December 1953 President Eisenhower, Sir Winston Churchill, and M. Laniel met in Bermuda. The Soviet Union could no longer avoid the necessity of taking part in a conference. The Berlin Conference began on January 28, 1954. Its results are summarised in the joint communiqué as follows:

"A meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and France — Mr. John Foster Dulles, the Right Hon.

snare laid for her destruction at this period. Her Royal Highness has many times been heard to say, "Had I been suspicious, pray what should I not have feared? The queen, from the first time I saw her, frowned upon me, and very little I said or did pleased her; so I never thought I was an object of any consequence to her Majesty." These were the reasonings of native, unsophisticated feelings, and well would it have been for the queen if her heart had been equally open, and her language equally candid.

The year 1800 was a continuation of dissension and discord, both at home and abroad. Twice in this year the king's life was attempted, once in Hyde Park, and again, on the same evening, at Drury Lane Theatre, the first being by a ball cartridge and the latter by a pistol. In the court the same lavish display as formerly was continued, and the royal means were not curtailed. It was said that the king declined having more than one course served up, but this was merely nominal; indeed, if it were as stated, the country did not benefit much by the change, as the allowances to royalty were, in many instances, very much increased instead of being decreased.

Such was the scarcity of provisions this year, that the generality of the population existed upon a scanty portion of potatoes during the twenty-four hours. Bread was not within the power of the poor to obtain, as the quartern loaf, mixed with all



Anthony Eden, Mr. Vyacheslav Molotov, M. Georges Bidault — took place in Berlin between January 25 and February 18, 1954. It reached the following agreements:

(a) The Foreign Ministers of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and Soviet Union, meeting in Berlin, considering that the establishment, by peaceful means, of a united and independent Korea would be an important factor in reducing international tension and in restoring peace in other parts of Asia,

Propose that a conference of representatives of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Chinese People's Republic, the Republic of Korea, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and other countries the armed forces of which participated in the hostilities in Korea, and which desire to attend, shall meet in Geneva on April 26 for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement of the Korean question;

Agree that the problem of restoring peace in Indo-China will also be discussed at the conference, to which representatives of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Chinese People's Republic, and other interested States will be invited.

It is understood that neither the invitation to, nor the holding of, the above-mentioned conference

shall be deemed to imply diplomatic recognition in any case where it has not already been accorded.

(b) The Governments of the United States of America, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and of the United Kingdom, convinced that a solution of international controversies, necessary for the establishment of a lasting peace, would be considerably aided by an agreement on disarmament, or at least on a substantial reduction of armaments, will subsequently hold an exchange of views to promote a successful solution of this problem, as provided for in Paragraph 6 of the United Nations resolution of November 28, 1953. The four Ministers had a full exchange of views on the German question, on the problem of European security, and on the Austrian question, but they were unable to reach agreement on these matters."

Germany's hopes of speedy unification were not fulfilled. On the day following the end of the conference, Dr. Adenauer said that it had at any rate made plain that the Soviet Union's policy towards Germany had not changed.

This fact will make it easier for the Federal Republic and the free world to take such steps as will make it clear to Russia that she will not achieve her aims by "cold war" methods. It is the hope of the free world that the period of negotiations initiated by the Berlin Conference will have this result. If it does, then the time for German unification will be at hand.

Windsor, whichever happened to be most convenient to her Majesty.

Notwithstanding the extreme scarcity of money and the high price of food, the queen and the younger branches of her family continued to give their splendid entertainments, as expense was the last consideration with the royal brood when it was known the country supplied the means. Oh, John Bull, thy gullibility has, for above half a century, been more than proverbial!

On the 29th of October the king opened the House in person, and announced the conclusion of war. Parliament then adjourned till after the Christmas recess. England now exhibited the effects of an eight years' war; the national debt had been doubled, and internal distress had become general; the poor were in a state bordering on starvation, and commerce had the prospect of every foreign port being shut against it; while the supplies required for the year amounted to nearly forty millions.

The year 1802 was ushered in under the greatest embarrassments. The vitals of the people were nearly destroyed by the enormous taxation they had endured for so many years, and it was doubtless owing to the intolerable load they had sustained, and still expected to have forced upon them, that independent sentiments were proclaimed. They had a right to condemn the usurping power of the queen for producing all their troubles.

## CULTURAL LIFE IN GERMANY

Cultural life in Germany has ever been much more strongly under the influence of State, Church, and other public institutions than was and is the case in other western countries. Even the attempts at spiritual emancipation made by the middle classes in the decades at the turn of the 19th century, and by the working classes at the turn of the 20th, have remained without lasting effect. Outside the framework provided by the State, German society has only been able to develop its life to a limited degree of independence. The disaster of two lost world wars and their devastating consequences have led to a strengthening of state influence in the field of culture. For it was the State that had to rally the popular forces in order to overcome the consequences of political disasters.

And yet cultural life would be doomed to remain barren if it depended on impulses from the center alone. Even the most efficient organization is of no avail if it does not see its real task as one of shaping and assisting those forces which are alive in the people. It is therefore a matter for satisfaction that the present centripetal tendencies are always counterbalanced by centrifugal forces. To this fact, also, the following survey of Germany's most important cultural institutions and organizations shall bear witness. For the rest it will restrict itself to quoting as many facts and figures as possible, for these speak more eloquently than general phrases.

### SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

Owing to the autonomy granted to the states by the Basic Law in matters of culture and education, there is a great diversity in the structure of the German educational system. But for practical purposes this structure is the same in all states; its foundation is a unified primary school on which all other types of schools are based.

With the exception of Berlin, Bremen, and Hamburg, the fundamental structure of general education in the German *Laender* is as follows: Primary education lasts eight, or, in some states, nine years, the first four of which are basic schooling (*Grundschule*). Higher Elementary Schools (*Mittelschulen*) last six years after the fourth year of primary school, except in Bavaria, where attendance is for three years after the seventh year of primary school, and the former state of Baden, where the institution of *Mittelschule* does not exist. The first foreign language begins in the fifth year, the second — which is optional — in the seventh year. High school education lasts nine years (after the fourth year of primary school). Beginning in the fifth year, the first foreign language is taught, from the seventh year, a second, and from the eighth to the tenth year, a third. A fourth foreign language is optional after the eleventh year. The languages

most taught are English, French, and Latin; after which come Greek and Spanish.

Comprehensive Schools (*Einheitsschulen*) exist in Berlin, Bremen, and Hamburg. Whereas in the other federal states the different types of schools are completely separate even outwardly, and have their own teaching staff, their own administration, and their own buildings, the attempt is made here to regard the schools as one unit. The boys and girls accepted for basic schooling at the age of six are given the possibility of remaining in the same school until graduation (*Abitur*). After completion of basic schooling, which takes six years in these schools, there is selection according to ability and the pupil's prospective calling. Thus the comprehensive schools, in the upper forms, are divided into a practical, a technical, and a scientific branch.

In public, as distinct from private schools, only the primary institutions are divided according to denomination and belief. There are confessional schools, schools run according to a particular philosophy (*Weltanschauungsschule*), and community schools (*Gemeinschaftsschule*), which range from the religious to the secular. The Basic Law has left it to the states to make the necessary regulations.

The co-operation of parents and pupils in school matters and school administration has been revived and put on a legal basis since 1945. It covers the safeguarding of "parents' right of choice" as regards schools, their participation in councils, advisory bodies, parents' meetings, school trusteeships, and, to a certain extent, even in school supervision; in the case of the pupils it means the carrying out of offices in school and the formation of pupils' committees.

The right to establish private schools is regulated by the Basic Law. If a private school consistently fulfils the demands made on the corresponding state school, it may be granted the status of a "recognized" private school. It thereby acquires the rights of the state schools but at the same time comes under stricter state supervision. The status of a recognized private school is not automatically conferred by official authorization to teach, which is required for all private schools in so far as they fulfil the function of a state school. Private schools are run by individuals, public organizations, churches, religious orders, etc. These are responsible for the upkeep of the schools, which are often subsidized from public funds.

#### *School Attendance*

Compulsory school attendance after the age of six covers attendance at a school dispensing general education (primary school, basic school) and at a vocational school, and usually ends after the age of eighteen. Compulsory education is free everywhere in Germany.

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1007.

a toast to the company, "the pilot that weathered the storm," instead of "the pilot who gathered the storm!"

In the latter part of this year much fear was excited lest hostilities should again arise between France and England, on account of the ascendancy of Buonaparte.

At the commencement of the year 1803, the unhappy king, by the desire of his overbearing wife, directed a message to the House, recommending "the embarrassed state of the Prince of Wales to their attention," and, in consequence, sixty thousand pounds annually were further settled upon his Royal Highness, to continue for three years and a half. This sum, however, was not half sufficient to meet his lavish engagements; and therefore Mr. Calcraft had the hardihood to move that "means be granted to enable the prince to resume his state and dignity." But this inconsistent and insulting motion was "too bad," and, in defiance of even the boroughmongers, was negatived.

The supplies voted for the public service this year amounted to above fifty-six millions. We really wonder of what materials Englishmen were composed to allow such iniquitous grants.

Ministers again declared war with France, and men and money were in no inconsiderable request. The French Consul possessed himself of Hanover, and threatened an invasion of England, which

Of about 6.8 million pupils of school age (up to the eighth or ninth year of primary school), about 6 million (89%) attended state or private primary schools in the Federal Republic in 1951. Of these about 3.1 million were boys and 2.9 million were girls. Higher elementary schools (Mittelschulen) were attended by 194,000 pupils (2.9%), of whom 92,000 were boys and 102,000 were girls. Tutorial and special schools had at that time 97,000 pupils (1.4%), of whom 59,000 were boys and 38,000 girls. Secondary schools accounted for 441,000 pupils (6.5%), of whom 256,000 were boys and 185,000 girls.

Thus, out of the total number of pupils subject to compulsory attendance, about nine-tenths were at schools dispensing primary education, and a bare tenth at schools providing higher education.

#### *Vocational Schools*

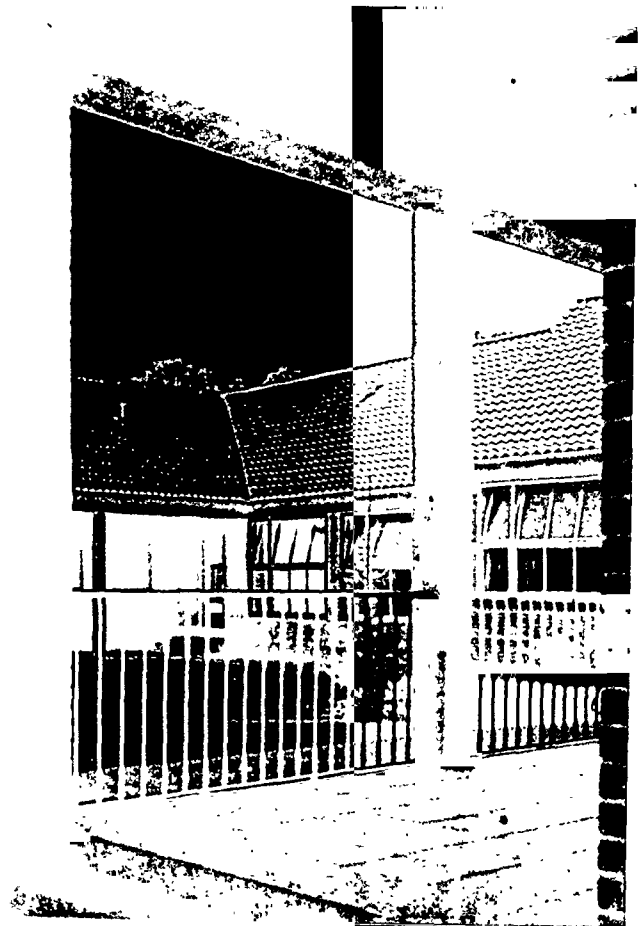
Vocational schools comprise three types of establishments which provide training for a particular trade or occupation (Berufsschulen, Berufsfachschulen, Fachschulen).

The first type are those schools (including recognized works' schools, schools run by corporations, etc.) which are attended compulsorily by youths

who are undergoing practical training as apprentices or are in some way employed, as well as those who have not yet begun to earn their living. Compulsory attendance at this type of school ceases after the age of eighteen.

The second type comprises schools giving whole-time education for a minimum of one year to young people preparing for a career in industry, trade, business, domestic science, or some artistic calling, and who are not undergoing training outside their ordinary schooling.

The third type are training schools which are not recognized as universities. They give agricultural, horticultural, practical, technical, artistic, and commercial training; also training in arts and crafts, transport, careers for women, social work, sport, etc. They presuppose adequate practical experience and stipulate a minimum of six months of whole-time instruction. As this type of school demands a great deal of previous practical experience, its students are on the whole considerably older and more mature than the students at the other two types of schools. With about 110,000 students, attendance at this latter type of school almost equals that at the universities.



*New School for Children: spaciousness and adequate lighting are two of its advantages*

we must for ever give up our claim to the possession of one iota of common understanding. As we proceed, we will explain to the gentle or indignant reader, whichever he may be, in what way our enormous "national debt," as it is called, was contracted, when we have no doubt that he will be as incensed as ourselves, and will be ready to exclaim, "Was this the policy pursued by that paragon of her sex, Queen Charlotte? — she who was at all times revered for her piety, and admired for her inexpressible and unspotted virtue!" Yes, reader, the very same; the only difference is, you have formerly beheld her in borrowed plumes; we present her in her own.

Let us here recur to the consideration of the treatment exercised against the Princess of Wales by her abominable husband and his vindictive mother. We formerly alluded to some confidential communications made by her to his Majesty. The suspicious and mean characters then placed about her person reported to the queen every interview which the king had with his daughter-in-law, and maliciously represented the imprudence of such an intimacy. From this time the Prince of Wales professed to believe his father was improperly interested in the cause of the princess, and spies were placed in various situations, to give notice of all visits the princess received and paid. Notwithstanding, the plotters' most ardent wishes were disappointed, and they could not fix



*Bonn University: main building*

### *Universities*

The universities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin are as a rule state institutions which in all important respects possess a kind of corporate autonomy. Of church institutions there are five catholic colleges of philosophy and theology, and five protestant church colleges. The state universities are usually under the supervision of the appropriate state ministries of education (Kultusministerien).

The upkeep of the universities in the Federal Republic is mostly provided by the states, that of the church colleges by the churches concerned.

The annual expenditure of public funds towards upkeep of the universities varies between 2.6 million for the smaller and 6 million DM for the larger universities (without counting expense on clinics for the medical faculties). Students' fees cover on an average one-quarter to one-third of the total costs. Worked out per head of population in the states, the annual grants to the universities amount to between 1.50 and 10 DM.

The duly inscribed students of every university elect a representative students' committee ASTA (Allgemeiner Studenten-Ausschuss) every term to watch their interests. These committees number between 12 and 24 members. The same task is performed on the federal level by the Union of German Stu-

dent Bodies (Verband Deutscher Studentenschaften) consisting of ASTA chairmen. Since the abolition, in March 1950, of the obligation to get approval for students' corporations from the Occupying Powers, these have rapidly revived. Although the wearing of colors is usually only permitted on special occasions and duels may not be fought, many of the old corporations have nevertheless significantly advanced and have made their influence felt in the administration of the universities.

The old-style corporations, however, form only one part of the student bodies. Many student societies of a scientific, political, sporting, cultural, or religious character have also arisen. They exert a not insignificant influence on academic life, even if they are of a less permanent nature than the corporations and unions, many of which look back on a long tradition.

The principle of academic freedom is not confined to scientific research and teaching. The students, also, make full use of it both in their attendance at academic functions and the arrangement of their studies. Only in rare cases is there any kind of compulsory attendance at lectures such as is customary at many foreign universities.

The traditional ways of teaching and study at the universities (lectures, tutorials, classes) have, it is

proper person to retain the high station which she had formerly occupied. If appearances were to be maintained, and royal splendour continued, she must mix with certain society, and debt be the inevitable consequence. The princess felt there were points, beyond which a virtuous, insulted female could not show forbearance; and she, therefore, resolved no longer to endure the galling yoke of oppression, without further explanation.



true, come under increasing fire in the course of the years. Particular criticism is being made of increasing specialization, which affects not only the individual teacher at the university in his scientific work, but also the often impecunious student in his studies. In view of this development, efforts towards a reform of the universities have gained in intensity since 1945. To their first fruits belongs, in particular, the attempt to introduce at all universities a general course of studies designed to remind lecturers and students of the "oneness of the scientific world". At some universities participation in the general science section of the *studium generale* has been made compulsory.

During the winter term 1952/53, a total of 125,027 students attended the universities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. Of these 21,637 were female and 3,212 were foreign students. The percentage distribution of German students according to main subjects taught at the universities of the Federal Republic during the winter term 1952/53 (figures in brackets for winter 1951/52) was as follows:

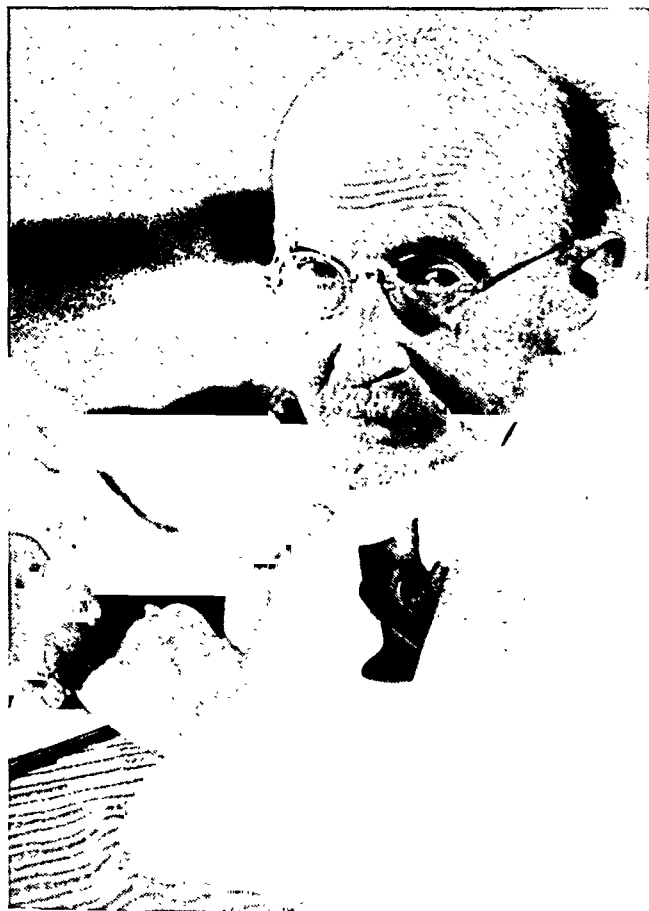
Protestant and Catholic Theology	6.2 % ( 6.6 %)
General Medicine	8.9 % ( 9.7 %)
Other Medical Subjects and Pharmacy	6.0 % ( 6.4 %)
Law	10.5 % (11.2 %)
Economics	14.7 % (12.6 %)
Arts	13.7 % (14.0 %)
Science, Agriculture, Forestry, Horticulture	17.3 % (17.9 %)
Architecture, Constructional Engineering	7.5 % ( 7.5 %)
Machine and Electrical Engineering	9.2 % ( 8.1 %)
Mining, Metallurgy, and Geodesy	2.3 % ( 2.1 %)
Music, Painting, Sculpture	3.3 % ( 3.5 %)
Other Subjects	0.4 % ( 0.4 %)

The percentages show that the trend towards a reduction in the number of medical students and a great increase in that of students of economics, engineering, and mining and metallurgy, which set in over three years ago, continues unabated.

### SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

After 1945 German research — and with it, to some extent — German science did not suffer from the destruction and losses of war and the political events of the post-war period only. Great additional handicaps were the "export" of nearly 2,000 scientists and research workers to foreign countries and the strict controls imposed by the Occupying Powers on many branches of research. Only at the end of 1949, immediately after the formation of the Federal Republic, were the stringent regulations of the Control Commission Order No. 25, of April 1946, relaxed in the western zones of occupation. Yet in March 1950 the Allied High Commission still made possession and use of metals, alloys, and amalgamates containing uranium, thorium, and beryllium, as well as of heavy water and pure graphite, subject to special permission

being obtained, even in the case of research projects which had already been notified. At the end of 1949 the Allied Military Security Board had under surveillance about 1,600 scientific institutes with 7,000 scientists. This surveillance covered research in the sciences, medicine, and the technical field, (including development and constructional work, improvements in plant and testing of materials). According to the Basic Law, teaching and research are just as independent as art and science. But there is increasing financial help from the Federal Government. In the financial year 1952/53 the sum made available by the Government for research amounted to 42 million DM. In the financial year 1953/54 the budget contained an additional amount of 10 million DM for a special research program according to the proposals of the German Society for scientific research (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). In the years 1950-52 about 70 million DM were made available for scientific research out of ERP funds, of which 20 million DM were for Berlin. Of this 70 million, 11 million were credits, the remaining 59 million outright grants. This aid was given for specific purposes: it could only be used for research either to further exports or to save foreign currency.



Professor Dr. Max Planck (died October 4, 1947) whose Quantum theory revolutionized modern physics and natural science at the beginning of the present century

powers to discharge. His daughters were also composed of the frailties of human nature. Born and educated in a court, under the severe tuition of their mother, they believed themselves of superior worth. The pleasures and enjoyments of life were ever waiting for their acquiescence, and their exercise on horseback, attended by certain persons, occupying certain stations in life, afforded them a variety of opportunities for conversation, in which the softest subjects met the ear.

At this period, also, the king's already distracted mind was further embittered by what he considered the loss of virtue in one of his daughters; and the agony he endured, lest the circumstance should transpire to the public, would defy any language to depict.

After calmness, in some measure, was restored to his Majesty's wounded feelings, his health gradually improved, and, on the 29th of March, he was declared to be convalescent.

On the resignation of Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt again assumed the reins of government, and appointed his *protégé*, Mr. Canning, treasurer of the navy. Why do not the many biographers of this political character explain the reason, if everything were fair and straightforward, of his quitting office in 1801, because the Catholic question was forbidden to be mentioned, and returning to it in 1804, under an express stipulation that no member of the government should agitate it contrary to

The most important research institutions receiving federal aid are at present: the Federal Institute for Health (Eobenz), the Federal Institute for Spatial Planning and Research (Bad Godesberg), the Federal Institute of Pharmacy (Bonn), the Federal Institute for Biology in Agriculture and Forestry (Bonn), the Federal Institute for Water, Forests and Wildlife (Gosch), the Central Office of Forest and Commons (Hornum), the Federal Establishment for the Study of Rivers and Lakes (Waterways) (Koblenz), the German Hydrographic Institute (Hamburg), the German Meteorological Office (Frankfurt).

Many research projects had been carried out by scientists in research centers and at the universities before the war. This applied also to the field of the history of science. Thus, (Munich), the Institute for the History of Science (Munich and Berlin), the German Academy of Science (Berlin), etc. In 1945 the Federal Republic was able to create the conditions for the development of scientific research, the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Ministry of Science of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin, which had been created for the purpose of the Federal German Republic. Research projects in the field of science and technology had been carried out in 1945 and also in 1946, three DFG research institutes set up in the Federal Republic in 1947, the Institute for Youth Affairs (Munich), the Institute for the History of Science (Hamburg), and the Institute for the History of Science (Munich). Measures for the education of research workers taken by the German state, mainly benefit the universities. In the financial year 1952/53, about 202 million DM from state funds were applied to research. Out of this about 119 million DM were for university research.

In March 1949 the ministers of education and training of the states undertook, in the first place for a period of five years, to raise jointly the means for research establishments not confined to the borders of the individual states. The budget for this project rose from about 20 million DM in 1949 to about 36 million DM in 1953. These funds benefit, among others, the German Society for Scientific Research (Bad Godesberg), the German Institute for Brain Research (Neustadt, Black Forest), the Institute of Economic Science (Munich), the German Institute of Geodesy (Munich), the German Academy of Scientific Research (Berlin), the Institute for Marine Research (Bremerhaven), the Tropical Institute (Hamburg), the Lower Saxon Academy for Regional Planning and Research (Hanover), the Institute of Viniculture (Siebeldingen, Rhineland-Palatinate), the Institute of World Trade (Kiel), the Institute for Virus Research (Heidelberg), the Bird Study Sanctuary Heliqoland (Wilhelmshaven).

Contrary to the case in other countries, only a small proportion of monies for scientific research is raised from private sources. (This remark does not take into account the probably large volume of industrial research). At the time of the formation

of the Federal Republic, in September 1949, as the first German (Federal) youth congress for the benefit of German ex-servicemen with the object of establishing friendly relations through additional youth work and by making the ex-servicemen, and especially the youth, partners of the progress of the German Republic. The Federal Government supported the programme of the German ex-servicemen and the youth of the German Democratic Republic and the people of the Federal Republic.

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Die Zeit der ersten Jahre der Ehe war eine Zeit der großen Glückseligkeit. Die ersten Jahre der Ehe waren eine Zeit der großen Glückseligkeit. Die ersten Jahre der Ehe waren eine Zeit der großen Glückseligkeit.

for the planning of the work of the Max Planck Society for the Furtherance of Science, formed in Göttingen in February 1948 and succeeded to the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, which was dissolved by the Allies. It is the organization comprising all the institutes in the Federal Republic which formerly belonged to the Kaiser Wilhelm Society. In cities where such institutes are located in West Berlin, they are joined with other institutes in the public foundation of the German Academy of Scientific Research (Deutsche Forschungshochschule). The institutes in Berlin are known as Max Planck Institutes.

Other instruments of scientific research are the Academies of Science, of which the three in Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Munich have reached a venerable age. In 1949 another Academy of Science (and Literature) was formed in Mainz. Among the worthiest tasks of the old Academies is to continue the publication of large encyclopedias and dictionaries, such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Some of these works represent a corporate effort begun decades ago.

Lastly, mention must be made of the scientific councils and research units which have been created by the Federal Government, some federal ministries, and several state governments. Among them the Research Co-operative of Northrhine-Westphalia, formed in 1950, occupies a special place.

limited course over this insulted nation. And what could be better to effect this object than alarming the country with the fear of an invasion? The diabolical scheme too fatally succeeded.

In order to strengthen the power of the queen at this period, Mr. Pitt renewed his connection with Mr. Addington, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Sidmouth, and succeeded the Duke of Portland as president of the council.

The minister, Mr. Pitt, cool as he was on many iniquitous subjects, could not avoid feeling pangs of remorse at the continual impositions he was compelled by the queen to make (in various shapes) upon the people. His unbending pride, however, would not permit him to name his uneasiness to her Majesty, as he well knew her inflexible temper and disposition would not permit her to receive any opinion in preference to her own. He soon resigned his earthly vexation upon this point, as he became so indisposed as not to be able to attend his political affairs, and was obliged to seek for repose in retirement from active life.

At the commencement of the year 1806, Parliament was opened by commission; but the usual address was omitted, on account of the absence of the minister, who, as before stated, was then seriously indisposed.

On the 23d of January Mr. Pitt expired, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was said to have died insolvent. Be this as it may, forty thousand

As a link between scientific research establishments and the more practical industrial research (works' research) there has been, since 1952, the Fraunhofer Society for the Advancement of Applied Research. This Society was created in Munich in 1949 and, since 1952, has been acting as a trustee for funds for practical scientific research, and projects with a commercial aspect which are outside the functions of the purely scientific academies. There is also the Bettelle Memorial Institute, an American foundation, which began its work in Frankfurt in 1953 and, among other things, has made available yearly grants totaling 200,000 DM for young German industrial scientists.

#### *Libraries and archives*

After the war the German libraries and archives were not only confronted with the task of making good the losses in buildings and books caused by political events, but also with the necessity of catching up with the development of foreign libraries and renewing their international contacts. In this they were greatly helped by generous donations of books from abroad, as well as by the support, since 1949, of the re-formed Emergency Council for German Science (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft), which became the German Society for Scientific Research in August 1951.

The losses of the German libraries due to war were enormous. Thus the 20 provincial libraries lost 5 million out of 13.2 million volumes: 32 university libraries lost 4.2 million out of 15.3 million, and 18 state libraries lost 1.9 million out of 4.3 million. Of these libraries, 7 were completely destroyed, 16 were 75% destroyed, 14 were 50% destroyed, and 23 were 25% destroyed.

After the loss of the Prussian state library, the idea of creating an efficient new central library was abandoned. Instead, a system of special collections according to subjects was introduced, the books being distributed to individual libraries according to the tradition or syllabus of the university concerned.

The exchange of books between German scientific libraries still encounters great difficulties owing to the absence of a comprehensive central catalogue. On the other hand, new central catalogues for individual subjects and regions have been started in the post-war period, for instance the Central Catalogue for Foreign Literature in Cologne, the Hamburg Central Catalogue for the Libraries of the Hanseatic Towns, the Central Catalogue of the Scientific Libraries of Northrhine-Westphalia, and the Central Catalogue for Hesse. The exchange of books is confined to the 365 scientific libraries in the Federal Republic and West Berlin recognized by the state governments.

With the co-operation of the German UNESCO commission, the German Bibliographic Board of Management (Deutsches Bibliographisches Kuratorium) was formed in November 1951 to serve as

central agency for the furtherance and co-ordination of bibliographic work in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. The day-to-day work is being carried out by the Bibliographic Committee of the Society of German Librarians.

Only a few new libraries of any importance have emerged since the war. Those parts of the former Prussian State Library which were stored in the federal territory during the war have been united under a trusteeship to form the West German Library in Marburg. It comprises 1.64 million volumes, 25,000 handwritten manuscripts, some 2,000 incunabula, 217,000 autographs, and 250,000 maps and charts. The free university in West Berlin received a library of about 300,000 volumes, that of Mainz, 171,000 volumes. Libraries which are still being built up include those of the German Federal Diet, the major federal authorities, the ministries, and of other state departments.

The losses of the German archives during and after the war were quantitatively less than those of the libraries, but qualitatively they were often more severe as the contents of archives are usually irreplaceable owing to their uniqueness. Of 241 archives in the Federal Republic and the Russian Zone of Occupation, almost half were completely destroyed or damaged.

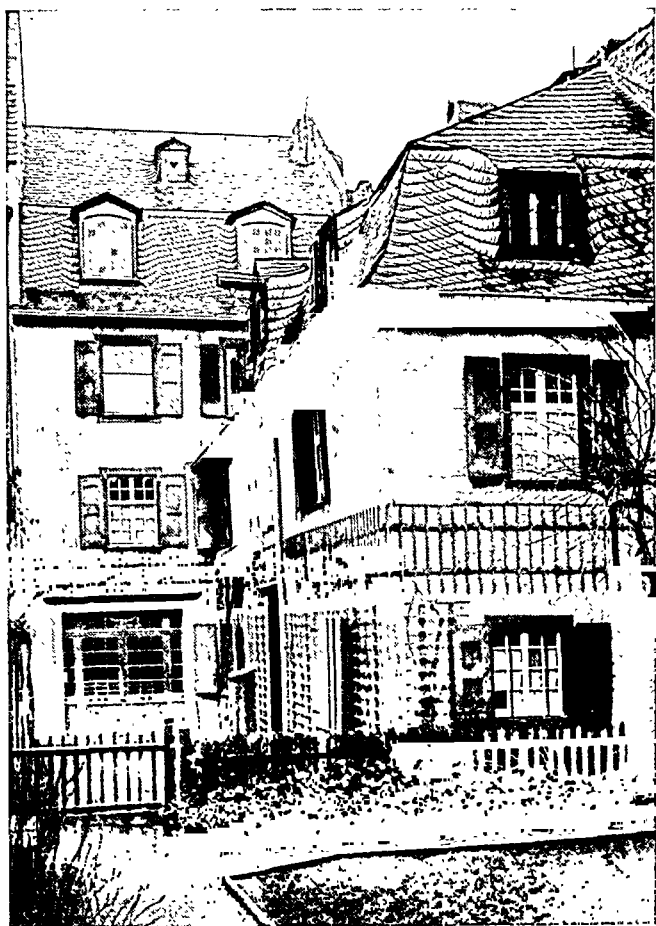
In 1952 a Federal Archive was created in Koblenz to carry on the tradition of the former Reich Archives.

#### CULTURAL LIFE IN GENERAL

Two world wars with their disastrous economic and political consequences have largely destroyed the economic and social basis for cultural life in Germany. Only in exceptional cases is it possible for artists to build up their resources from the sale of their work.

The days of the private patron of art and artists are as good as over. His place has been taken — usually on a very modest financial scale — by the Federation, the churches, the states and municipalities, and official and private organizations. There was, for instance, the Thanks Offering of the German People, launched by the Federal President, through which works of art to the value of one million DM were acquired and given to foreign countries in thanks for their help after the war. The Art Commission of the Federal Diet and other committees are working out plans for the promotion of cultural activities. Much thought is given to the security of artists and writers in their old age. Whereas a substantial number of executive artists — conductors, musicians, actors, etc. — can make a fairly secure living with the help of firm engagements, the truly creative artists only rarely succeed in establishing a financially firm basis for their work by taking up teaching or in other ways.

In the promotion of cultural life outside the realms of education and science, public bodies (state, church municipalities) have always taken an active part.



*Bonn: Beethoven's Birthplace*

Details in this respect are contained in the following sections. However, large sectors of artistic and intellectual activity — publishing and the book trade, press, radio, films — still remain primarily the preserve of individual initiative.

#### *Popular Education*

Establishments for popular education in the widest sense have been increasingly set up since the collapse in 1945, but particularly since currency reform in 1948. Among them facilities for adult education play a special part. The "people's universities" (Volkshochschulen) have developed a well-tried and successful form of popular education.

The people's universities work in two ways: through evening classes and by home study. Evening classes have developed very well, but their organizers and lecturers rarely work full-time and proper premises are not often available. Home study can achieve better results with courses usually lasting at least several weeks. There are now about 50 such universities teaching by home study, mostly supported by churches or professional bodies. The most prominent promoters of popular education are the churches and trade unions. The evangelical churches in particular became very active in this field after the war. Most prominent among their foundations are numerous evangelical academies such as

those in Bad Boll, Bad Herrenalb, Kloster Loccum, Muelheim/Ruhr, and Tutzing. Representatives from all walks of life, all professions, and all ages meet regularly at week-end gatherings for common meditation and discussion of the burning questions of the day. The Evangelical Social Academy Friedewald has developed into a center of evangelical education for the working classes; its activities are complemented by those of the Evangelical Action Co-operative for Labor Questions.

The catholic work of popular education is promoted and furthered mainly by Catholic Action. Important educational work is also being done by the Catholic Mission for Men, the Mission for Women, the Catholic Union of German Women, and the Catholic Workers' Unions. Following the example of the Evangelical Academy, a Catholic Academy has now been founded in Rottenburg.

In the economic and social sphere a notable contribution to popular education is made, above all, by the Association of German Trade Unions (DGB) and other workers' organizations, as well as by the employers' unions. The DGB provides for the expenses of 8 union colleges and many of the schools run by individual trade unions. It works in close collaboration with the Academy of Labor at the University of Frankfurt, the Academy for Co-operative Economics in Hamburg, and the Academy for Social Problems in Dortmund. The festivals in the Ruhr organized by the DGB are renowned beyond the frontiers of Germany.

The Employers' Union (DAG) does work similar to that of the DGB in popular education. It has opened schools for employees in some 150 places in the Federal Republic. About 70,000 young employees annually participate in a professional competition organized by the DAG. Apart from these activities for the promotion of professional skill, the DAG sponsors many educational and cultural functions at all important places in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin.

#### *Museums*

Even in 1953 German museums and exhibitions were still suffering from the fact that the war had destroyed their most important buildings, such as the Old and New Pinakothek in Munich, and the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne. Thus the contents, the bulk of which was fortunately saved by timely storage out of harm's way, could, even eight years after the war, only be made available to the public to a limited extent. In many cases, however, this turned out to be an advantage, since it gave the public the opportunity of studying regularly changing exhibitions of a few pictures or "objets d'art" much more thoroughly than was and is the case in the large museums with their enormous collections which invite superficial viewing.

The treasures of the great Berlin museums were mostly transferred to the safety of Western Germany and today are mainly in the Wiesbaden

openness to conviction. Often as he was obliged to submit to the decrees of necessity, whereon he imagined his continuance in office depended, yet he never had the candour to acknowledge the weakness of any measure, originating in himself, that brought on that necessity. But what a departure was this from the principles of his illustrious ancestor, the Earl of Chatham, who would never crouch to the authority of any sovereign or cabinet, when militating against his own more enlightened judgment. He resisted bribery, and generally succeeded in his views, or, if baffled, resigned his office. The son of this nobleman, however, pursued far different maxims, and pertinaciously clung to the douceurs and infamy of office; for infamous it most certainly was, to practise measures his own sentiments condemned. Never did man accede to power on more just or noble principles, and never did man forsake those principles with less reserve. He forgot all obligations, and at a happy crisis, when he might have availed himself of the occasion of honourably fulfilling them, in advancing the liberty and happiness of the country, he was eternally launching out into vapid and unmeaning encomiums on the boasted excellencies of the British constitution, instead of adhering to his solemn contract, of exerting all his influence and abilities to reform its blemishes. With all the failings of this minister, his caution and plausibility were admirably calculated to entrap the confidence of the landed and

State Museum and in Celle Castle. From 1946 to 1950, 220 of the most famous pictures were sent to the USA on a touring exhibition which was seen by about 2.5 million Americans. For Munich the great problem is rebuilding and new building of its almost completely shattered museums. Most of the art treasures themselves were saved. In Nuremberg, the Germanic National Museum is in the process of reconstruction, and substantial funds have been contributed by the Federal Government, the State of Bavaria, the city, and many private donors. Conditions are much the same in most other towns and municipalities. Cologne, where the rebuilding of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum was started in 1953, deserves a special mention.

#### *Publishing and Book Trade*

Publishing and the book trade were particularly hard hit in the early post-war period owing to political events and economic difficulties. Leipzig, once the center of German book production, came under Soviet domination and can, therefore, be practically excluded as a source of German books in the free world. At first the Allies applied a strict system of licensing to the opening of publishing houses and the issue of books which was not finally

done away with in the Federal Republic until 1950. There is no censorship, but in the interests of Allied security and the prestige of the Occupying Powers the distribution of publications may be forbidden. Altogether 902 licenses have been granted by the three Western Powers for book and periodical publication.

The most important publishing centers according to the number of publishing houses are as follows:

Town	Book Publishers	Book and Periodical Publishers	Periodical Publishers	Total
Stuttgart	94	65	9	168
Munich	76	49	13	138
West Berlin	86	47	4	137
Hamburg	56	23	34	113
Frankfort	36	32	10	78
Duesseldorf	19	16	13	48
Hanover	17	16	11	44
Cologne	18	11	9	38
Wiesbaden	23	8	3	34
Freiburg	13	12	1	26

Not until 1951 had economic conditions in publishing become sufficiently normal for German books and periodicals to stand up to comparison anywhere. Only lack of capital has limited the enterprise of publishers. At present, production and sales



*Goethe's study in the Goethe House, Frankfurt: the poet spent much of his time here*



Mr. Pitt's death was an unpleasant consequence to the usurping queen, and perhaps impelled the ardour of her determination to get her favourite son's divorce from his injured wife settled as soon as possible. The scheme for this purpose, which seemed most practicable, was the obtaining some document as evidence against the moral character of the princess. By the queen's express desire, therefore, Lady Douglas had removed her abode, nearly six years previously, close to Blackheath, and was purposely employed to invent some dishonourable report against the princess.

The Princess of Wales, accidentally and innocently (on her part), became acquainted with this lady, and from that period no pains were spared, on the part of Lady Douglas and her husband, to increase that acquaintance, until their diabolical object should be attained. The most assiduous attentions and extravagant pains were used to entrap the generous mind of the princess; but as the object in view proved of a very difficult nature, so did the means for its accomplishment become equally numerous. This intimacy commenced in 1801, and terminated in 1804; and during that period did these base designing slanderers and ungrateful guests, by secret application, obtain an opportunity to vilify, outrage, and insult the princess, in connection with nearly every branch of the royal family, who were too closely united in one general interest not to assist each other.

of scientific books suffer from lack of purchasing power of scholars and the tight budgets of the libraries. But there is a broad flow of general literature and belles lettres. In this latter branch there has been a change in that the German public has increasingly overcome its former aversion to paper-bound books. Publishers like Rowohlt of Hamburg, S. Fischer of Frankfurt, and List of Munich, have scored surprising successes with mass editions of paper-bound books in the style of the American pocket-books. The German book trade suffered not only before but also after currency reform from the fact that at first all purchasing power was diverted to satisfying the accumulated demand for life's necessities. The general impoverishment, particularly in intellectual circles, also had a very unfavorable effect. Only since the winter of 1951/52 has there been an improvement in the position of the book trade, which in some respects has returned to normal.

The leading organization of German book publishers and traders is once again, since October 1948, the "Boersenverein" of the German book publishers' and traders' unions in Frankfurt, modelled on the pattern of the once world-famous "Boersenverein". Its main tasks are to create and maintain facilities for the promotion of business, to act as spokesman in dealing with the authorities, to train new recruits for the profession and to further develop the professional knowledge of booksellers, and to keep up cultural contacts at home and abroad. Since 1946 there has also been an Association of Booksellers consisting of representatives of the states which publishes a journal for the German book trade (Boersenblatt). The bibliographies compiled by the German Library in Frankfurt are also published by this organization. Finally it publishes the illustrated book magazine "Die Barke" (since 1951), the bulletin "Das Deutsche Buch", emanating from the German Library, which is intended for publicity purposes abroad, and, since 1952, the Book Trade Directory.

The annual Frankfurt Book Fair affords an excellent survey of publishing activity and serves the restoration of international relations in the book trade. At the 1953 Fair some 400 foreign publishers from Great Britain, France, Holland, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, and the USA were represented.

#### Press and Radio

The Basic Law restored the freedom of the press, which is now limited, only by the law as it applies to all citizens, by the laws for the protection of young persons, the libel laws and the special regulations concerning the security and prestige of the Occupying Powers. The Federal Constitutional Court can decree the forfeiture of press freedom (as it can most other personal rights and privileges) by anyone misusing these basic rights to undermine the free democratic order. Except where new State press laws have superseded

it, as in Bavaria and Hesse, or where special regulations have been made for the press, as in Northrhine-Westphalia, Schleswig-Holstein, Bremen and Hamburg, the old Reich press law remains in force and contains the main orders and regulations for periodically published printed matter.

By the middle of 1953, the number of daily newspapers in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, including local editions, again exceeded a thousand. (Figures vary between 1022 and 1228). They had a total circulation of 13.4 million. That is to say there was one newspaper for every 3.7 inhabitants — compared with one to every 2.6 in 1932. The average circulation per paper at the end of 1952 was about 11,000. (This compares with an average of 5,300 in 1932, when there were 4,700 different papers with a total circulation of 25 million.) In 1952 only seven newspapers had a circulation of more than 200,000; 29 had a circulation between 100,000 and 200,000; and 43 between 50,000 and 100,000.

Compared with former times the number of overtly party political newspapers has declined. In Southern Germany, where the United States Military Government adopted the principle of licensing only non-party newspapers, they have practically disappeared. The most important non-party newspapers are the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, *Die Welt* (Hamburg and Essen; originally the paper of the British Military Government), and *Der Tagespiegel* and *Der Kurier* in Berlin. The British method of licensing papers with party political affinities — as opposed to ties — has, in a few instances, proved extremely successful. The *Rheinische Post* (Duesseldorf, CDU) and the *Westfälische Rundschau* (Dortmund, SPD), for instance, are in the front rank of German dailies as regards circulation figures. Since licensing was abolished there has been a great resurgence of the traditional non-party papers of mainly local interest and circulation. So-called tabloids are of minor importance, though some of them have achieved a very large circulation (*Bild*, of Hamburg, for instance, has a circulation of more than one million).

Weeklies, and newspapers appearing only on a few days every week, have managed to retain their fair share of the market in competition with the dailies. In 1953 there were 43 such papers. Among the most important are *Rheinischer Merkur* (Cologne), *Deutsche Zeitung* and *Wirtschaftszeitung* (Stuttgart), *Die Zeit* (Hamburg), *Christ und Welt* (Stuttgart), *Sonntagsblatt* (Hamburg) and *Die Gegenwart* (Frankfurt).

The most important German news agency is the German Press Agency (DPA). Its head office is in Hamburg and it has 29 branch offices in the Federal Republic and Berlin with about 1300 correspondents. It also maintains 22 offices and correspondents abroad. DPA is an independent joint-stock corporation with the German newspaper publishers

sorrow, in addition to all other trials and injuries, were to fall upon the persecuted Caroline, she had to suffer the heavy and irreparable loss of her father, William, Duke of Brunswick, at the memorable battle of Jena, October 14th, in the seventy-first year of his age.

The character of the venerable Duke of Brunswick is beyond praise; "his name shall be his monument!" If at any period the Princess of Wales needed the kind and soothing balm of friendship, it was at this trying juncture. Her friends were few in number, and their friendship was of an evanescent description. They sometimes professed their readiness to serve her, and eulogised her greatness of mind and talent; yet, when brought to the point by public opinion and inquiry, they very generally expressed their sentiments equivocally, or with some portion of hesitation calculated to injure, rather than benefit, the cause they professed to serve. Mr. Canning and Mr. Whitbread were two of these particular kind of friends, as our after history will abundantly testify.

How wretched must have been the Princess Charlotte at this period, who was nearly deprived of all communication with her affectionate mother, and without one friend to whom she could freely speak of her sorrows and anxious wishes!

The year 1807 commenced with selfish men in office, who contrived selfish measures for the continued purposes of corruption.



"Deutsche Welle": the German Overseas Broadcasting System: Dr. Otto Wesemann, Director, leading a staff discussion

and broadcasting stations as its associates. Other sources of news for the German press are the German offices of the two American agencies, Associated Press (AP) and United Press (UP).

In addition to the big news agencies there are a host of other news and press services — some of them private, others denominational, political, or serving other special interests. Of these we might mention the Association of dailies with a medium circulation (DIMITAG - Dienst mittlerer Tageszeitungen - with its head office in Bonn), the Associated Economic Services (VWD, Vereinigter Wirtschaftsdienst, Frankfurt), the Evangelical Press Service (EPD, Evangelischer Presse-Dienst, Bethel) and the Catholic News Agency (KNA, Katholische Nachrichten-Agentur, Bonn).

Midway between the daily newspapers and the periodicals are the weeklies which we have already mentioned. After the abolition of licensing, periodicals grew like mushrooms. There had been about 2000 of them in 1949; by 1952 there were roughly 4300, with an estimated total circulation of 75 millions. Yet the periodicals had an even harder struggle for survival under adverse conditions than the newspapers. The periodicals which proved relatively successful were those with a religious or philosophical background and readership, such as *Zeitwende* (evangelical), *Hochland*, *Stimmen der Zeit*

(catholic), *Frankfurter Hefte* and *Merkur*. Old-established publications with sound financial backing, such as *Westermann's Monthly*, *Velhagen & Klasing's Monthly*, etc., were also successful. A special case is that of *Der Monat* which, like the *Neue Zeitung*, is published by the United States High Commission.

The position of periodicals which provide light entertainment is very much more favorable. This applies in particular to illustrated periodicals, the demand for which has increased in proportion to the public's preference for pictures rather than the written word. Some of them already have a circulation of a million or more. The best known are the radio periodical *Hör zu* (Hamburg), *Quick* (Munich), *Revue* (Munich), *Stern* (Hamburg) and *Constanze* (Hamburg).

After the end of the war the Occupying Powers assumed control over all German broadcasting networks. In the Federal Republic, however, they presently turned over the management of the stations to the Germans and confined their activities to a lenient and broadminded form of supervision. They remained, however, the supreme broadcasting authority.

The broadcasting stations of the Federal Republic have been constituted as public corporations. In the American Zone this was done by state legislation,

Castlereagh, "Secretary for the Department of War and the Colonies." Thus were two of the former advocates of the Princess of Wales enlisted under the banners of her most deadly enemies. As to the honour they derived from their base desertion of the cause of innocence, we leave our readers to judge.

The Prince of Wales, at this juncture, made no secret of his diabolical intentions; for we well know that he has frequently raised the goblet to his lips, and drank "to the speedy damnation of the princess." It was very perceptible that the royal party were well aware of the injustice practised toward the princess; but, charity being a virtue of little worth in their ideas, they resolved to carry their plans into execution, no matter at what cost.

The least the late friends of the princess could do was to remain silent; but human beings can articulate sounds, and be oppositely communicative with their optical faculties. An individual, who accepts place amongst those whom he formerly professed to despise, renders himself an object of suspicion, if not of detestation.

For the present, we abstain from further remarks upon these two late principal friends of the persecuted Princess of Wales.

Upon hearing of the Duke of Brunswick's death, the king could do no less than solicit the duchess, his sister, to visit England. As the country around her was in a deplorable state, and feeling desirous



*Professor Dr. Klemperer directing the NWDR Symphony Orchestra as guest conductor*

festivals in Bonn, the Lower Rhine music festivals, as well as the Ruhr festivals of the German Trade Union Federation at Recklinghausen. To these must be added music festivals commemorating special occasions (The Bach bi-centenary in 1950, the 125th anniversary of Beethoven's death in 1952, etc.)

The folk song tradition, too, has prospered since the war. 1951 saw the resumption of the traditional festivals of choral associations in which the German Choral Association (comprising more than 8000 choirs), the Universal German Choral Association and the German Association of Mixed Choirs take part. Amateur orchestras, also, have developed satisfactorily. The German Association of Amateur Orchestras was founded in 1952 and now has a membership of 150 orchestras. There are also a host of associations for popular instruments (such as mandolin orchestras) which we can only mention in passing. Finally there is music in the home, and this, too, despite the radio, has flourished remarkably.

No fewer than 98 German theaters were destroyed during the war. 84 of the 139 state, provincial and municipal theaters, and 20 of the 102 independent houses had to perform on improvised stages. But since the introduction of currency reform many theaters have been restored. At the beginning of 1953 there were 163 theaters in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. 93 were state, provincial or municipal theaters with a total seating capacity of about 109,000. There were also 12 independent houses with about 12,000 seats, 34 repertory

theaters, 6 peasant and vernacular theaters, 4 summer theaters and 6 open-air theaters.

Theatrical festivals are very popular in Germany. The most important is the Ruhr Festival at Recklinghausen. It is an annual social and cultural event staged by the German Trade Union Federation in co-operation with the Recklinghausen municipal authorities, and supported by the State of North-rhine-Westphalia. Second in importance is the Bayreuth Festival, revived in 1951 by Richard Wagner's grandsons, Wieland and Wolfgang Wagner. There are other festivals at Monschau (Eifel), Wiesbaden, Munich (operatic festival) and Berlin (theatrical festival).

The German film industry has suffered since the German collapse in 1945, and especially since the currency reform in 1948, from excessive decentralization and a chronic lack of capital. The Occupying Powers decreed the liquidation of the funds of the former national film industry, and the process was completed by a federal law of June 5, 1953 to wind up and decartelize the industry's assets. The Federal Administration has given the film industry some help by undertaking to underwrite some of its losses. In March 1950 the upper limit for this guarantee was fixed at 20 million DM. By the end of 1952 all but 4 million DM of this had been taken up. Of the 16 million DM so far underwritten, 8 to 10 million DM are not expected to be repaid. The project of a federal film bank has not yet materialized. The Federal Government consequently decided, in March 1953, to

of any sort ; he could not even distinguish any object by either its colour or size, and was led from one place to another as if in the last stage of blindness. The long-continued distractions of his mind, and the anxiety yet remaining, caused his rational moments to be most gloomy. His favourite daughter was incurably diseased with a scrofulous disorder, from which she suffered dreadfully, and nature seemed fast declining. Throughout the whole of his family, the poor monarch had but little gratification, as every individual composing it was separately under her Majesty's control. To have contradicted her order or command would have been attended with no very pleasant consequences. Her look was sufficient to frighten every one into obedience.

We now enter upon the year 1808, in which the session of Parliament was opened by commission, on the 21st of January, the king's indisposition preventing him from going in person.

At this period a very strong sensation was excited against the continuance of the pension list. The productive classes ascertained, in a very correct way, how the fruits of their industry were devoured. In consequence of which, they felt themselves imposed upon in the highest degree ; but resolved to try rational entreaty and petition ere they resorted to acts of violence. The number of these dissatisfied classes, in every large town, was immensely great, and they only needed system to

guarantee a further 60 to 80 million DM for the next three years.

In order to avoid the need for state censorship, the German film industry has established a voluntary censorship of its own, the FSK (Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle). It is administered by the industry itself and has been approved by the political, ecclesiastical and other relevant authorities. The FSK serves to eliminate from films all unhealthy influences in matters of morals, religion and politics. Its evaluation office classifies films as "recommended for viewing by young persons", "suitable for viewing by young persons" and "suitable for viewing on Sundays".

The working committee of the FSK consists of six members, four of whom belong to the film industry, two being personalities in public life nominated in turn by the State Ministries of Education, the churches and the youth organizations. There is a right of appeal against the committee's decisions, in the first place to the main committee of the FSK and beyond that to the legal committee. The FSK works according to standards evolved jointly by the film industry and the representatives of the public. To encourage film production, the Federal Government in 1951 founded a number of annual prizes and awards. There is trophy tenable for one year for the producer of the best feature film, as well as awards for its director and scenario writer. The director of the most valuable documentary film receives a trophy and a cash award of 2500 DM. Other awards and trophies are given for the best film dealing with social problems, the film best calculated to encourage civic responsibility and democratic principles, or best calculated to promote European unity. Prizes may also be awarded for the best problem film and the most convincing "avant garde" film. To encourage new film talent there are trophies and cash awards to the value of 2500 DM for the best acting performance of a male and a female film student. The prizes are awarded by a committee of judges appointed by the Federal Minister of the Interior from persons of public and cultural eminence.

#### CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

The influx of expellees and refugees has not greatly altered the denominational composition of the German people in the four zones of occupation. The proportion of the two main Christian denominations has remained fairly constant, though, in some States the migrations of the past decade, provoked by the war, have produced somewhat more noticeable changes. Protestant districts, in Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, Hesse, Baden-Wuerttemberg and in the Soviet Zone now have stronger catholic minorities, and predominantly catholic areas — especially Bavaria and the former State of Baden — now have a greater share of Protestants. In the Soviet Zone the number of Catholics has more than doubled. The following is the

approximate denominational distribution in terms of percentage in the Federal Republic and Berlin:

State	Protestants	Catholics	Others
Baden-Wuerttemberg	52	46	2
Bavaria	27	71	2
Berlin	71	13	16
Bremen	85	9	6
Hamburg	80	7	13
Hesse	64	32	4
Lower Saxony	76	20	4
Northrhine-Westphalia	41	55	4
Rhineland-Palatinate	40	59	1
Schleswig-Holstein	87	7	6
Total: (for the whole country)	52	45	3

#### *Evangelical Churches*

The collapse of the Reich in 1945 also destroyed the common organization of the Evangelical State Churches in Germany. It was not until July 1948, after much preliminary work, that a constituent church assembly was convened in Eisenach, which approved a new basic framework for the German Evangelical Church (EKD). A few days previously the churches of the Lutheran persuasion had also met in Eisenach and established the "Joint Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany" (VELKD). Contrary to the VELKD, which has a common confessional basis and thus constitutes a genuine church in the protestant sense of the word, the EKD is no more than a confederation of churches without a common confessional basis. Its members are the churches — not individuals or congregations. Thus the EKD, though a confederation of Lutheran, Reformed and United Protestant churches, does visibly represent the solidarity of Evangelical Christians in Germany and is more than a mere association of convenience. It covers the territory of all four zones and thereby constitutes one of the most important links between Western Germany and the Soviet Zone.

The EKD's organs are a Council of Twelve, elected by the Synod, the Synod itself, which meets once a year, and the Church Conference in which each member church has a voice. The EKD's offices are the Church Head Office in Hanover (with branches in Berlin and Bonn) and the Church Foreign Relations Department in Frankfurt. A number of special and expert committees exist for dealing with particular tasks.

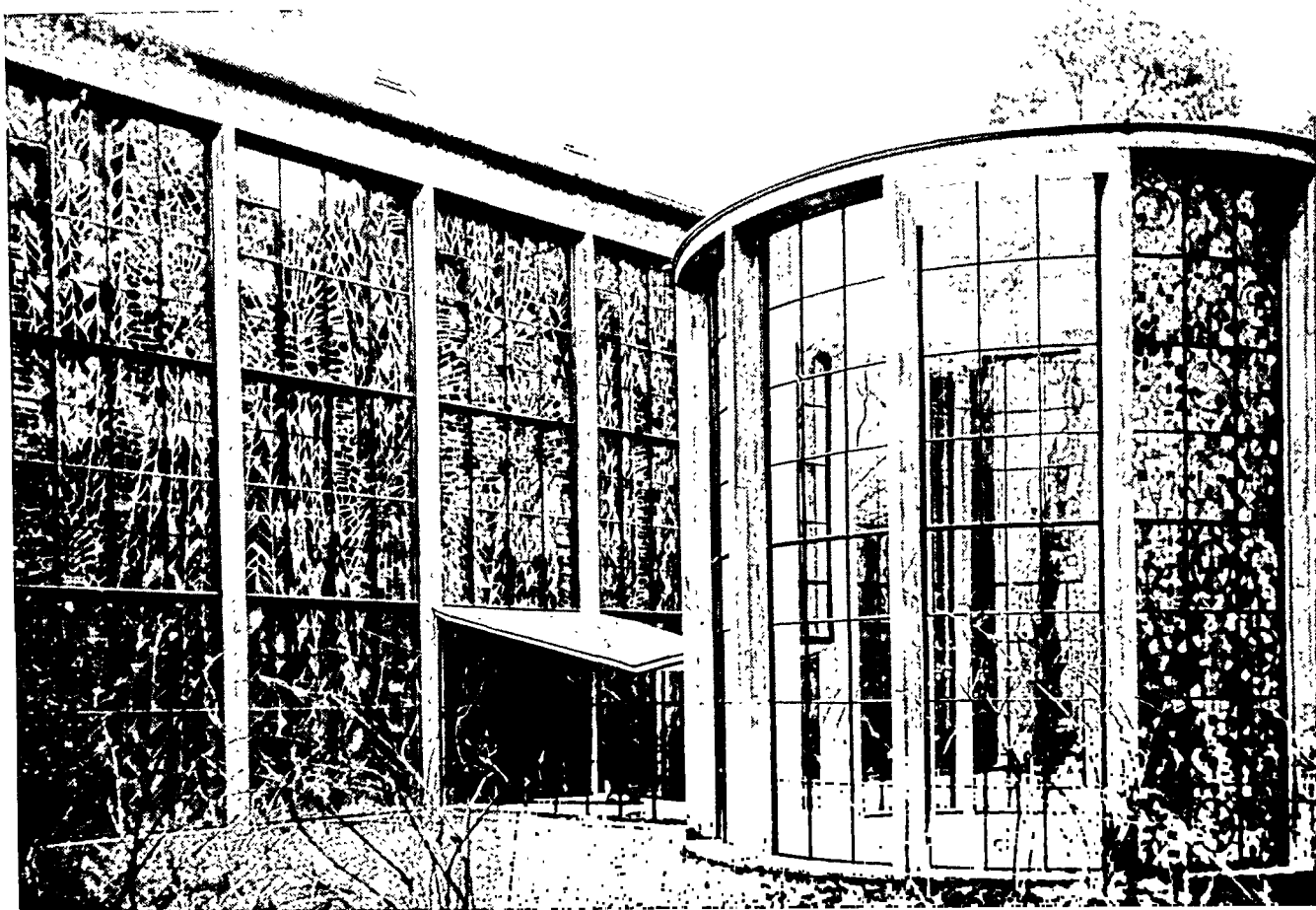
The EKD represents its members churches in all political and legal issues with the State and its organs. It negotiates with the appropriate departments about legislation which may affect or interest the Church. It makes its influence felt in public through the press, cinema and radio. It promotes and supervises all major church enterprises and organizations and all individual church activities requiring central direction. It represents the State churches in the field of ecumenical co-operation and cares for churches abroad which are of German evangelical origin.



continued inexorable to the pressing prayers and miserable condition of the people. The political disease, however, was rapidly advancing to a crisis.

Similar distress and dissatisfaction existed at the commencement of the year 1809. Provisions were dear, and labour scarce ; yet an additional sum was required for the state, to uphold its secret machinations, and pervert the ends of justice.

It will be remembered that, in this year, the celebrated Mrs. Mary Ann Clark, formerly a mistress of the Duke of York, appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, as evidence against him. Mr. Wardle, with an intrepidity worthy of the cause in which he was engaged, took upon himself the awful responsibility of preferring those serious charges against the duke, which it were unnecessary for us here to repeat. The public officers of the king volunteered their services to rescue his Royal Highness from public odium by denominating the proceeding as a conspiracy. In spite, however, of every artifice which a knowledge of the law enables bad men to practise to defeat the ends of justice, there were exposed to public view scenes of the grossest corruption, of the most abandoned profligacy, of the most degrading meanness, and of the most consummate hypocrisy. The contagion had reached every department of the state ; nor was the Church exempted from its baneful influence. It was fully proved that not only subordinate situations, but even deaneries and bish-



*Modern church architecture. The parish church of Marienburg, Cologne, completed in 1954. The architect was Professor Dominikus Böhm, who created, among other noteworthy ecclesiastical buildings, the Cathedral of San Salvador in Central America*

The EKD comprises 28 member churches, of which 13 are Lutheran, 13 United Protestant and 2 Reformed. The Lutheran Churches (which are also members of the VELKD) are those of Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, Hanover, Brunswick, Schaumburg-Lippe, Oldenburg, Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Luebeck, Eutin, Meklenburg, Saxony and Thuringia. The United Protestant are the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian State (pre-1866) with its member churches of Berlin-Brandenburg, Saxony, Pomerania, Silesia, Westphalia and Rhineland; and the State churches of Hesse, Nassau, Electoral Hesse-Waldeck, Baden, Palatinate, Bremen and Anhalt. The Reformed Churches are the Evangelical Reformed Church of Northwest Germany and the State Church of Lippe. Other Evangelical institutions are the German Evangelical Church Congress (a modern lay organisation of the EKD), the EKD's Men's Institute, the Evangelical Women's Institute of Germany, the Working Association of German Evangelical Youth, the Working Association of the Churches for Problems of Emigration and the Church Central Office for Broadcasting.

#### *The Catholic Church*

The Catholic Church in Germany comprises six ecclesiastical provinces and one bishopric imme-

diately under the Holy See. They are: the ecclesiastical province of Bamberg, with the archbishopric of Bamberg and the bishoprics of Eichstaett, Speyer, Wuerzburg; the ecclesiastical province of Breslau with the bishopric of Berlin and those parts of the former archbishopric of Breslau west of the Oder-Neisse line (archi-episcopal office of Goerlitz); the ecclesiastical province of Freiburg with the archbishopric of Freiburg and the bishoprics of Mainz and Rottenburg; the ecclesiastical province of Cologne with the archbishopric of Cologne and the bishoprics of Aix-la-Chapelle, Limburg, Muenster, Osnabrueck and Trier; the ecclesiastical province of Munich and Freising with the archbishopric of Munich and Freising and the bishoprics of Augsburg, Passau and Regensburg; the ecclesiastical province of Paderborn with the archbishopric of Paderborn and the bishopric of Fulda and Hildesheim; the German bishopric of Meissen which is immediately under the Holy See. With the exception of the ecclesiastical province of Breslau and the bishopric of Meissen, all ecclesiastical provinces are situated in the Federal Republic, but some of them spread over into the Soviet Zone.

There are about 40 religious orders for men and associations for priests in Germany. The most

acknowledged that his mother realised four hundred thousand pounds. At the same period, her Majesty had another excellent speculation in hand; namely, the profits arising from the sale of cadetships for the East Indies. Doctor Randolph and Lady Jersey were the chief managers of these affairs, though her Majesty received the largest portion of the spoil. Doctor Randolph himself acknowledged that the queen had realised seventy thousand pounds upon this traffic alone. In one transaction with a candidate for a cadetship, an enormous premium was required, and the applicant was very much incensed, as it appeared to him to be nothing less than a bold imposition. He expostulated; but Doctor Randolph made short of the affair by refusing any further communication upon the subject. For once, Doctor Randolph forgot his own interest, as also the public character and safety of his royal mistress. The gentleman, shortly afterward, was visiting a friend in Paris, when the conversation turned upon the English constitution, and the immense revenues of the kingdom. The friend spoke in raptures upon the liberal feelings and generous provisions exercised and provided toward, and for all, aspirants to honour. At length, the visitor could no longer conceal his mortification and chagrin, and he candidly explained every particular of his correspondence with Doctor Randolph, in which her Majesty's name was as freely introduced as the doctor's.

important are the Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins, Palottines and Cistercians. There are, besides, 10 religious confraternities. The number of religious orders for women is very much greater, there being more than 100 of them. Among them are the Benedictines, the order of Borromeus, the Dominicans, the order of Elisabeth, the Ursulines (English Ladies), Franciscans, Carmelites, Ursulines of the Roman Union, Vincentians and Cistercians.

Candidates for the priesthood are trained in 22 seminaries and colleges. For more specifically academic training there are 6 theological faculties (at the universities of Bonn, Freiburg, Munich, Muenster, Tuebingen, and Wuerzburg) and 9 philosophical and theological academies (at Bamberg, Dillingen, Eichstaett, Frankfort-on-Main, Freising, Fulda, Paderborn, Passau, and Regensburg). In addition, many orders and congregations maintain their own theological training establishments.

A number of organizations are devoted to academic research. They are: the Goerres Society (Cologne); the Albertus-Magnus Institute (Cologne); the Catholic Social Institute (Koenigswinter); the Canonical Institute (Munich); the Institute for Missionary Research (Muenster); the Abbot-Herwegen Institute for Liturgic and Monastic Research (Maria-Laach); and the Society for the Publication of the Corpus Catholicorum (Bonn).

Other organizations are: the Central Committee of German Catholics for the Preparation of Catholic Congresses in Germany and the Organization of Catholic Action in Germany (both with the aim of stimulating lay interest in the church); the literary and press department of the Bishops' Conference of Fulda; the Ecclesiastical Head Office for Films and Pictures; the Ecclesiastical Head Office for Broadcasting; the Central Office of the Borromeus Society (encouragement of good books) and the Society of Catholic Writers in Germany.

#### *Other Churches and Religious Communities*

In addition to the German Evangelical Church (EKD) there is the Association of Evangelical Free Churches in Germany which comprises the follow-

ing: Federation of Evangelical Free Church Communities (about 100,000 members), the German Methodist Church (about 65,000 members), the German Evangelical Community (about 420 parishes), Federation of Free Evangelical Communities (about 19,000 members), the Evangelical-Lutheran Free Churches (about 100,000 members), the Old Reformed Church (about 5000 members), and the Association of German Mennonite Communities (about 14,000 members). Among the other free churches, the Salvation Army, with about 30,000 members, has made a special place for itself.

One other German church which should be mentioned is the Old Catholic Church whose bishopric at Bonn is joined with the Old Catholic Churches of Switzerland, Holland and Austria in the Utrecht Union. The Church has 33 parishes and is in full intercommunion with the Anglican Church.

Finally, there are a whole series of splinter groups of Orthodox and eastern national churches, which came to Germany in the course of the east European revolutions. Chief among them is the Episcopal Synodal Church, which migrated from Serbia to Munich in 1944, and the Armenian National Church. There are also communities of Orthodox Russians, Estonians, Letts, Poles, Serbs and Rumanians, some of which come under the authority of the Metropolitan in Munich.

There are about 70 non-denominational religious communities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, with an estimated total membership of 900,000 and a greater number of adherents. The most important are the Apostolic Communities (more than 300,000 members), Jehovah's Witnesses (34,000 members), Seventh Day Adventists (45,000 members), the Community of Christians, the Mormons and the Christian Scientists.

Communities of the Jewish faith which were founded in Germany after 1945 are organized in the Central Council of German Jews. The biggest Jewish community is in Berlin and has about 6,000 members. At the time of the September 1950 census, there were about 22,000 people of Jewish faith in the Federal Republic.

Of the ideological communities the German Anthroposophical Society (Stuttgart) is the most important.

tion of the queen, and her avaricious character, not to affect satisfaction at the high price her Majesty paid for silencing this unpleasant affair. It may be inferred that, if the queen had committed herself by such flagrant acts of injustice as these, there might be many more dishonourable transactions of a minor description, occurring nearly at the same period. Yes, the inference is correct, for her Majesty was truly born and bred a German.

There is a magic word which gains in fascination the more the twentieth century and technical progress attempt to banish magic from this world. The word is "holidays!" It can reduce adults to the state of children before the festive season, looking for a little corner to write long letters to Father Christmas, full of secret wishes, dreams, and happy anticipation. Have you ever caught yourself, long before your holidays were due, sitting with pencil and compass in front of a map, turning the pages of colorful folders, totting up mileages and hotel prices, while your eyes stray ever so often to the open window and to the clouds in the sky, which assume strange shapes of white ships, snow-covered mountains, glittering seas, and marble cities?

Of course, there are as many ideas about holidays as there are people. One man wants nothing but rest. He looks forward to two or three weeks in which the alarm clock will not ring nor the works' siren utter its shrill scream. Another may need physical relaxation. His lungs long for fresh air, his skin for sunshine that is not filtered by urban haze. A third wants exercise. He wants to strengthen those limbs and muscles which get cramped at work bench or desk. A fourth, from the bustle of crowded cities, longs for solitude. And yet another just wants to see the sights: the countryside, old towns, romantic churches, monasteries, castles.

Well, friend — I don't know what sort of a person you are. Perhaps you have a special wish which I have not mentioned here. Perhaps you want them all. You want to come to Germany? Or perhaps you are already in Germany because your work, your business, or your studies have brought you here. Whatever it is, you will find here the holiday of your dreams.

Look at the map of the Federal Republic. It is not exactly a large country. 650 miles from north to south, 300 miles from west to east are the maximum distances. But nature has been kind to us and has endowed this land, which is smaller than Wyoming and about the size of the Brazilian state of Piahy, with every type of country to be found in Europe. In the north there is the North Sea with its bold surging waves which the chain of East Frisian and North Frisian Islands can barely break. The water, which contains an exceptionally high proportion of iodine and sodium chloride, is a wonderful tonic for the entire organism. Long stretches of sand dunes are ideal for lazing in the sun and resting from water sports.

The beaches of the Baltic Sea are more mellow and gentle. Here the wind does not blow so hard, the waves beat less fiercely, and beautiful forests stretch down to the coast, offering the temptation of long walks. You can take your canoe to the North Sea or hire a yacht. But don't forget to fix your canvas cover and leave the women and children behind, for this is a man's game. On the Baltic,

however, you can take the family along in the boat without a qualm. And yet North Sea and Baltic are only 40 to 50 miles apart, separated by the narrow ridge of Schleswig-Holstein.

Is Germany then a land of contrasts? I would not say so. It is rather a country where one kind of landscape blends harmoniously into the next, providing its attractive counterpart.

In the south is the high range of the Alps. Step by step we go lower the further we move north. The Black Forest, the Schwaebische and Fraenkische Alb, the Odenwald, the Spessart, the Hunsrueck, the Taunus, the Rhoen, the Eifel, the Westerwald, the Bergisches Land and the Sauerland, and finally the Teutoburger Forest and the Weserbergland gradually lead into the great North German plain and at last to the coast. This north-south axis is also the way the great rivers flow, such as the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe. Only the Danube goes its own way from west to east. Everywhere, the mountains are interrupted by valleys from which many tributaries flow to the main rivers.

Every one of these valleys has its own face and its own character. The water from Alpine streams boils and foams through narrow channels which it has cut steeply into the bare rock. Small rivers in the Mittelgebirge wind gracefully through green meadows and dark, solemn woods. Cheerful and sunny like the wines which bear their names do Neckar, Main, Mosel, and Ahr flow towards the Rhine.

The Federal Republic has only a small share in the Alps. But it is beautiful and varied. Rugged, bare rock, wooded mountain sides, valleys with pretty villages, lie close together. The tree line goes up to 5,567 ft. Then there is a belt of meadowland before the bare rock begins.

The Allgaeuer Alps, rich in meadows, whose highest peak is the Maedele-Gabel (8,662 ft.), join the wooded Ammengauer Mountains and the abruptly rising limestone rocks of the Wetterstein and the Karwendel Mountains in the east. Here lies the Zugspitze, Germany's tallest mountain.

In the Berchtesgaden district near the Austrian border, there are more massive rocks of chalk with broad uplands over which tower the sharp crests of the Watzmann (8,888 ft.) and the Hochkaltern (8,538 ft.).

The countryside between Alps and Danube is graced with many lakes, among which the Lake of Constance, on the Swiss border, is the best known. But also the Chiemsee, the Starnbergersee, and the Ammersee, as well as quite a number of smaller lakes at the foot of the Alps, are equally famed for their wonderful position and the opportunities they provide for lovers of aquatic sport.

From the bend in the river near Basle to Karlsruhe, the Black Forest follows the course of the Rhine, which cuts a deep channel between this wooded

frequently pressed for payment of his longstanding account, he again solicited a settlement with the queen; but, as he only received abuse of an unmeasured description for his pains, he determined to maintain himself and his large family out of the profits of his private scholars, leaving the royal debt as a provision for his children after him. His expenses were considerable in attending the royal family, as he was always obliged to go full dressed in a bag and silk stockings, to hire carriages to go down to Windsor, to live at an inn, and to sleep there, if they chose to take lessons the two following days, by which he was also often obliged to neglect and disoblige his private scholars. For all this attendance, he received no remuneration whatever; and Queen Charlotte had the heart to say, "I think you have had remuneration sufficient by your youngest son receiving a pension of eighty pounds a year for teaching the younger princesses only writing." The preceptor, however, still claimed his remuneration, and was, at last, referred to the lawyers, who required him to produce proofs of every lesson he gave, the day and the hour, for twenty-six years. To their astonishment, he produced his diary, and such clear accounts, that there was no contradicting them. But as lawyers are never at a loss how to gain their ends, they next required him to declare, upon oath; the name of each particular servant that had let him in during the twenty-six

German mountain range and the Vosges on the other side. Even in the Black Forest there are a number of peaks above 3300 ft. The best known is the Feldberg near Freiburg, capital of Baden, which affords a wonderful view of the Swiss Alpine ranges. The Black Forest is one of the many districts in Germany which are equally popular with tourists in summer and winter. Here, as in Bavaria, the Eifel, the Sauerland, and the Harz, many people find summer relaxation in the bracing air of the forests and on flower-bedecked meadows where, in winter, skiers race over glistening slopes down to the valleys, and sleighs full of happy people drive along snow-covered tracks through the woods.

One of the most beautiful stretches of river in the world lies where the Rhine breaks through the Mittelgebirge between Bingen and Bonn. Twisting and turning, the river here separates Hunsrueck and Taunus, Eifel and Westerwald. The place names along this stretch read like a wine list: Eltville, Geisenheim, Ruedesheim, Assmannshausen, Bacharach, Oberwesel. The Seven Mountains, close to Bonn, the capital of the Federal Republic, form the romantic end, much praised in music and on canvas, of this stretch of the river. At Bonn starts the "Bay of Cologne", part of those North German lowlands which stretch along the northern edge of the Mittelgebirge, taking in Berlin, and reaching northeast as far as the Baltic.

Here, with the lignite works near Cologne, begins the Ruhr, one of the greatest industrial centers in the world, which reaches up to the northernmost tributary of the Rhine, the Lippe. Autobahns and express railway lines cross this district. After three hours' travel, factory chimneys, winding gears, blast furnaces, and the slag heaps of the coal mines recede once more. The fertile soil of Muensterland and the Soester Boerde lies before us. The fruits of the earth flourish in these rich fields, and strong and healthy cattle graze in the meadows. Muensterland gives way to the moors which stretch from the Northern Netherlands down to the lower Elbe. On Luneburg Heath, all that is beautiful in the lowlands passes once more in review. If you wish to go to the Heath, summer is the time, when the heather is in bloom. For miles the gently undulating, sandy soil looks like a carpet of palest pink, into which here and there the dark green dots of the junipers have been woven, and on whose edges stand silent coniferous forests. North of the Autobahn which joins Hamburg and Bremen, the air already has the tang of sea and tar. The wind blows the breath of the North Sea far inland, and the pulse of the tides raises and lowers the level of the water in the ditches and channels which drain the moors and marshes.

This position between high mountains and the sea coast gives the German climate its special character. Abrupt changes in the weather are rare. The winters are mild, and on high ground there is

much snow. The summers are warm, without, however, developing those long periods of dry heat which are characteristic of a continental climate. Just as the country itself, the climate is varied but evenly balanced, so that, from this point of view also, Germany is the travellers' paradise at any time of the year.

## ROMANTIC GERMANY

There are in Germany, apart from a few groups of mountains, no towering peaks. There is no beach to compare with the Côte d'Azur. And the thundering majesty of Niagara, the overwhelming grandeur of Yellowstone Park are altogether missing. Not majesty nor grandeur have molded the face of this country in the heart of Europe, but harmony and proportion, a quiet beauty which does not overpower — not remote splendor, but a serene smile on the face of God.

Lying halfway between north and south, between east and west, Germany has ever been the land of gentle transitions. This is true of climate and true of countryside. It is particularly true of the enduring monuments created by men in two thousand years of history. There lies a wealth of which hardly another country in the world can boast. Romantic Germany is indeed unique.

Nor is there any need to argue about the sense in which this word "romantic" is used: whether to characterize the mood of the landscape or the face and soul of a medieval town. One is as right as the other. In Germany we find both side by side, and nowhere is the country more beautiful than where one blends into the other. Take romantic Heidelberg, for instance, in the romantic country by the Neckar, or the cathedral and monastery of Altenberg in the wooded valley of the Dhuen.

Altenberg is only a short distance from Cologne. Nothing need be said about this city and its cathedral. It is one of the most impressive landmarks of occidental history.

But one fact needs mentioning, because it shows how rich in romantic elements this district is. If you sat on top of one of the twin towers, you would not have enough fingers on both hands, given an uninterrupted view, to count all the gems dotted over this relatively small part of Germany. Altenberg, the severe Gothic Cistercian cathedral in the valley of the Dhuen, one of the most impressive examples of Gothic architecture, has already been mentioned. There is also Bonn, the city in which Beethoven was born and spent his early years, and its ancient minster. There is Castle Bruehl, one of the most bewitching legacies of the Baroque period. In the Eifel stands Maria Laach, the Benedictine monastery at the edge of Lake Laach, a lake in the crater of an extinct volcano. At the Dreilaendereck, the corner where Germany, Holland, and Belgium touch, lies Aix-la-Chapelle, proud metropolis of the Carolingian Empire, with its town hall where, for seven hundred years, German



to her uncle, the Duke of York, about it, who persuaded her that the venerable master was an old rogue, who had robbed the princesses and all the family, and her Royal Highness chose to believe him. That he was a scientific man, his books and valuable mathematical instruments bore ample testimony. These were sold after his death for eight thousand pounds, which went to discharge his debts.

Many other instances might be recorded to prove the unfeeling and barbarous behaviour of the queen; but this alone must be sufficient to convince our readers how totally unfit her Majesty was to reign over a free people.

In the September of this year, Lord Castlereagh sent a challenge to Mr. Canning, which was accepted; but the effects of the duel were not very serious, though it subsequently led to the resignation of both. It is hardly worth while, perhaps, to recur to this now forgotten, and always, as far as the public were concerned, insignificant business. Lord Castlereagh acted as a vain and high-spirited man, who fancied his confidence betrayed, his abilities called in question, and, like an Irishman, saw but a short vista between an offence and a duel. Mr. Canning, equally high-spirited, felt that he had got into a disagreeable business, and that the fairest escape from it would be to fight his way out. Lord Castlereagh's conduct, when we think of a sober

emperors were crowned, and its cathedral where nearly twelve hundred years ago Charlemagne had a marble throne built on which he sat during the service. Towards the north, following the old Roman road, lies Neuss, the "Novesia Castra" of the Roman legions in Germania, and far down the Rhine, above the graves of the martyrs from the Theban regiment in Xanten, stands the church of St. Victor.

Even this list can only mention a few highlights. There remain Benrath Castle near Duesseldorf, Duesseldorf itself, the serene "Daughter of Europe", innumerable dreamy castles overlooking Maas (Meuse) and Rhine, idyllic small towns in the Bergisches Land and along the Sieg, and the solemn beauty of the Eifel.

To describe romantic Germany in all her riches would burst the confines of this chapter. We must be satisfied to look through the album at random, and to let the little we can mention speak for the all that has to remain unsaid.

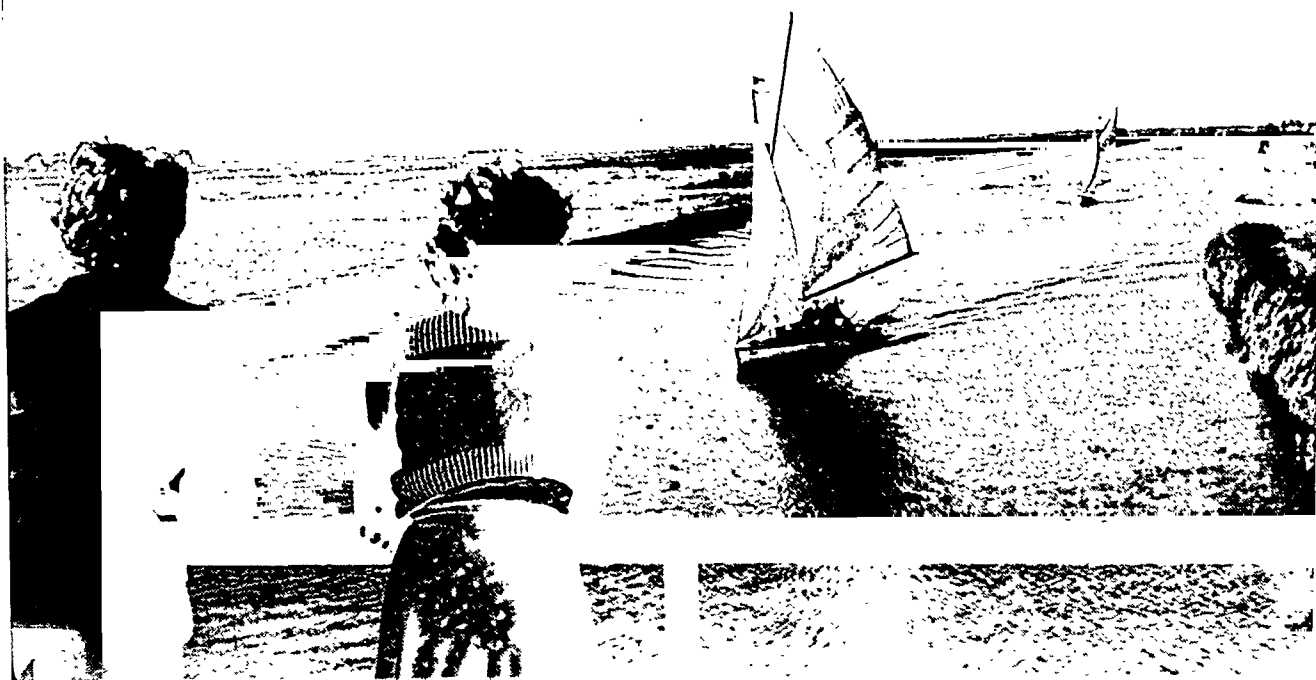
Germany is a land of transitions. He who comes from Holland and travels up the Rhine will notice that the typically Dutch features in countryside, towns, and also in people, recede only gradually. The same is true of Germany's north, where again there is no natural barrier of mountains or sea to divide states and people. Gluecksburg, for instance, the magnificent sea castle on the Flensburger Foerde, might just as well be in Denmark. And anyone taken blindfold to Kalkar, home of

one of Germany's most famous schools of wood carving, would be hard put to guess whether he was in Holland or Germany.

Luebeck, within a stone's throw of the Iron Curtain, is one of the most vivid and beautiful legacies of Gothic brick architecture. This style, of which the simple brick is the basic material, is characteristic of North and East Germany and represents a unique triumph of Gothic architecture. Luebeck was for a long while one of the leading cities in the Hanseatic League and during that time had a decisive influence on the development of North-east Europe right up to Reval and St. Petersburg. Buxtehude and, at times, also Johann Sebastian Bach were organists in its cathedral. Its town hall, built of shiny black tiles, is one of the most magnificent secular buildings of the Middle Ages.

Hamburg and Bremen, too, bear witness to Hanseatic civic pride: the one presenting on the Binnenalster one of the most picturesque sights of any town in the world; the other in the heart of its old city clustering round the defiant figure of "Roland". If, on sunny days, Hamburg almost gives the impression of belonging to a more southern country, Bremen, on the other hand, has an unmistakably northern character.

Apart from brick, timber framework has also contributed to the stamp borne by the face of the German towns. The dividing line between framework and brick building runs roughly parallel to the northern edge of the German Mittelgebirge,



*In East Friesland near Emden*

that filing a criminal information against an individual can be done only with a view of preventing the exposure of truth, which, though such procedure be according to English law, cannot be reconciled with the original intention of law, namely, to do justice both to the libelled and the libeller! In America, no such monstrosities disgrace the statute-book; for there, if any person be accused of *scandalum magnatum*, and can prove the truth of what he has stated, he is honourably acquitted. Yet as we are not in America, but in England, — the boasted land of liberty, — we must, forsooth, be seized as criminals, merely because we wish to institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the murder of an individual, whose assassin, or assassins, have hitherto escaped the slippery hands of justice. We are no cowards in regimentals, nor did we make our statement with a view of slandering the royal pensioner. We would have willingly contended with his Royal Highness in a court of law, if he had had the courage to have met us on fair grounds. At the time we write this, we know not what the judgment of Lord Tenterden — we beg his lordship's pardon, we should have said the court — may be; but, whatever the punishment awarded, we hope to meet it with that fortitude which never fails to uphold a man "conscious of doing no wrong." If the Duke of Cumberland, however, imagines he can intimidate us from speaking the truth out of court, he has mistaken

but in Muensterland, Oldenburg, and Lower Saxony, framework building has penetrated far to the north of its original home in the mountains. The principle of framework building — a skeleton of heavy wooden beams filled in with clay-packed lattice-work — offers the architect innumerable possibilities as regards the shape of the house and the arrangement of the outside walls. The wooden beams remain visible on the surface of the walls. They are usually painted black to contrast with the white-washed walls. Often the preoccupation with surface becomes a preoccupation with colors. Then one may observe dark-brown, shining timbers separating wall segments whose whitewash has been tinted pale pink, pale green, or yellow. Charming examples of this style of building are found even in the smallest villages between the Main and the Teutoburger Forest. Towns like Brunswick, city of Henry the Lion, or the ancient imperial city of Goslar in the Harz, to mention only two examples, are in their old quarters still so overwhelmingly characterized by framework building that a walk through their streets is like a walk into another century.

Goslar lies in the Harz, Brunswick is not far distant. The Harz is perhaps the most romantic of Germany's wooded mountain districts. Goethe and Heine have sung its praises. Its highest peak, the Brocken, today unfortunately behind the Iron Curtain, is the witches' meeting place of German legends. In the deep forests nearly every spring is associated with a fairy tale.

Further west and south, one enters the district of the Weser and its two sources, the Werra and the Fulda. Where they join, lies Hannoversch-Muenden, a medieval town which, even in Germany, is hardly known. But the much-travelled Alexander von Humboldt once included it in the list of the world's most beautiful cities. Between the two rivers Muenden occupies a wonderful position. Old bridges join the two banks, the water foams against the stonework, perfectly proportioned framework houses line the streets. But the beauty of the town has the cool reserve of the north. It does not reveal itself so readily as the charm of the old towns in West and South Germany. It was this noble reserve which Alexander von Humboldt had in mind when he compared the quiet beauty of Muenden with the glowing splendor of southern cities, and the graceful, serene charm of Salzburg. Perhaps the North German architectural style developed from framework building finds its finest expression in Hoexter. Here one can see beams artfully worked with axe and knife. Blessings are carved into the wood in richly decorated old-style Gothic letters and filled in with gold. They ask God's protection for the house and its inhabitants and bear witness to the fame of the families who built it and lived in it.

Speaking of medieval towns, the most beautiful among them are threaded like pearls on a rope running along the "Romantic Road" leading from



*View of the Alster Lake and Lombards Bridge in Hamburg*

the valley of the Danube to the Main: Noerdlingen, Dinkelsbuehl, Feuchtwangen, and Rothenburg-on-the-Tauber — not to forget Miltenberg, Wimpfen, and Wuertzburg, although that still leaves most of them unmentioned. With city walls and city gates, with their defensive moats, with their narrow streets lined today as they were three hundred years ago by the old houses of the patricians, with their fountains ever playing, they are like a dream-land where time stands still.

The Rhine has not become Germany's highway to Europe only in our day. It assumed that role when the first Roman cohorts made their way northwards along its banks. Cities, castles, and fortresses — many of them in ruins today — cathedrals whose steeples are reflected in the waters of the river, even the industrial edifices which modern progress has brought to its banks — all bear witness to a long and varied past and an active present.

History and myth here become one. Cleves, situated directly on the Dutch border, is the scene of the tragic love of Lohengrin, son of Parsifal, and Elsa of Brabant. Xanten, a few miles to the south, is the starting point of the Saga of the Nibelungs and the birthplace of its shining hero Siegfried.

depositions would also be read to them, when they would have an opportunity of altering or enlarging, and the jury could put any question to them they thought fit."

In this address, some of the privileges of royalty are explained. Because the murder had been committed in a palace, the Privy Council must examine the witnesses before they may be allowed to meet the jury, and their depositions taken by a justice, under the influence of the suspected party. The coroner may then tell the jury that there was very little doubt of the deceased person having attempted his master's life, and afterward cutting his own throat to avoid detection. Merciful heaven! can this be called an impartial administration of justice? Are such careful proceedings ever adopted in the case of a poor man? To be sure, the jury were told they might ask any question they thought fit; but is it to be supposed that, after the inquiries they had undergone, the witnesses would let slip anything likely to criminate themselves or their royal master?

"The first affidavit that was read was that of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, which stated that about half-past two o'clock on Thursday morning he received two violent blows and cuts on his head; the first impression upon his mind was, that a bat had got into the room, and was beating about his head; but he was soon convinced to the contrary by receiving a third blow.

Siegfried moved up the Rhine to the court of the Burgundian king at Worms. This part of Germany, ringed by Worms, Speyer, Mainz, Wuerzburg, and Tuebingen, and at whose approximate center lies Heidelberg, is perhaps the richest of the German lands in its historic and cultural past. It is the home of Tilman Riemenschneider, the great wood-carver, and of Matthias Grünewald, a genius among German painters. Here Walther von der Vogelweide sang his *Minne* songs and Wolfram von Eschenbach composed his epic poems. Here murmurs still the spring in the Odenwald where Siegfried was pierced by the spear of treacherous Hagen, who placed loyalty to his king above his own honor and committed shameful murder for the sake of that loyalty. The shining and the dark chapters in the book of German history can be found here close together.

Is it still necessary to say a word about Heidelberg? The position of the town above the Neckar is unique. Seven centuries have helped to fashion the beauty of the castle, a veritable jewel even in its present-day condition, a German contribution to the Wonders of the World. A short trip up the Neckar brings us to Fortress Hornegg, seat of the "Deutschherren". This valiant, heptagonal building reminds one of the fortresses built by the knights of the Teutonic Order in Syria. Wimpfen is not far, and from its towers one has a wide view over the greyish-blue waves of the mountains. Many a fortress lies here within whose walls famous dynasties were nurtured. The last of those brave knights, the Lord of Berlichingen with the iron hand, was immortalized by Goethe in his "Goetz". Romantics have always loved and praised this country, for it is graceful, gentle, and sweet. But the mountains themselves long remained inaccessible because they were wild and rugged. The Black Forest was something to frighten children with as far afield as England, and it is barely a hundred years ago that the Feldberg was regarded as a rocky waste which could only be braved in the company of a guide. Today the peak of this mountain is accessible to anyone. From its heights one has a wonderful view of the distant chain of the Swiss Alps.

The nearness of the South can be sensed in spite of the high barrier interposed by nature between the Mediterranean and the Continent proper. It seems as if the warm south wind which blows from the Alps not only changes the countryside but the people as well. The towns on the Lake of Constance, for instance, (above all Meersburg) have a pronounced southern character. Also the other lakes at the foot of the Alps, particularly the great Chiemsee and Lake Starnberg, remind one a little of the sunny country around Lake Maggiore. Romantic Germany! It is in the nature of the word "romantic" to bear so many different meanings. Town and country, mountains and castles, rivers and lakes, cathedrals and village chapels: all can

be romantic. Goethe's idea of romance was different from Eichendorff's, Carl Maria von Weber's different from Wagner's. But because Germany, perhaps more than any other country in the world, offers such a rich choice of romantic elements for every taste, it has long been a popular tourist center for those who would not only seek relaxation for their bodies but also refresh their spirits.

### A GASTRONOMIC TOPOGRAPHY

There is a German proverb that says: "Eating and drinking keep body and soul together." This proves two things: first, that we in Germany do not regard eating simply as a physical function which has to be got over with as quickly and unobtrusively as possible; secondly, that we are of the opinion that a good meal must do more than simply satisfy palate and stomach. This idea has given rise to something which we call here "cultivating a good table". It does not manifest itself in excessive opulence, but in the fact that even in simple restaurants importance is attached to a certain measure of comfort characterized by a well-laid table and friendly service.

It would surely be an interesting and rewarding occupation to draw a map of Germany according to the special dishes and beverages of the different regions. That picture would show more variety



On the Eibsee (Bavaria)

his Royal Highness, as he did by .“cutting him across his thighs, after he was out of bed!” As the supposed murderer followed the duke, who thought it best to take to his heels, we think his Royal Highness should have stated whether he meant his thighs in front or behind ; but, of course, an examination of the scars would soon set this matter at rest. They would, no doubt, be found behind, as it is unreasonable to suppose that, in a dark room, the pursuer could have cut at the pursued in front. The Duke of Cumberland is a field-marshal, and a braver man, it is said, never entered the field ; but in a dark room, with a man little more than half his weight, it would have been cowardly to fight, particularly as his Royal Highness might, if he had so wished, have taken the weapon out of Sellis’s hand, and broken it about his head. No, no ; the Duke of Cumberland knew what was due to his honour better than to take so mean an advantage of a weak adversary, and therefore coolly endeavoured to ring his bell, that a more suitable antagonist might be procured in his valet Neale !

“Cornelius Neale, sworn. — He said he was valet to the Duke of Cumberland, and that he was in close waiting upon his Royal Highness on Wednesday night, and slept in a bed in a room adjoining the duke’s bedroom. A little before three o’clock, he heard the duke calling out, “Neale, Neale, I am murdered, and the murderer is



*Good motor roads lead into the heart of the skiing areas*

than in any other country in Europe. But beware of jumping to false conclusions: dumplings are indeed a Bavarian speciality, but don't go away with the idea that you cannot get anything else to eat in Bavaria. And what is true of dumplings in Bavaria, is true of sauerkraut all over Germany. It is so typically German a dish that other languages have not even a word for it. Yet anyone who does not like it can live in Germany for years without ever being forced to eat it.

For, although it is true that the German regions know how to produce some really outstanding specialities, it is nevertheless the ambition of all innkeepers and cooks to offer something to their guests which is also appreciated elsewhere. Looking for the first time at a menu in a German restaurant, one may wonder that there are only so few typically German dishes, and such a great number of dishes which have come from abroad: Hungarian goulash, Vienna Schnitzel, macaroni and polenta, Swedish cold meats, English roast beef, Russian sakuska, Bohemian pastries, Dutch sauces, and many representatives of French cuisine. But before we set out on our gastronomic journey through the German regions, let me point out a few things which may be different here from the way they are in your native country: you are not likely to get iced water with your meal unless you specially ask for it. The reason for this is that the summers in Germany are never hot enough to

make this necessary. And tea is usually a golden color and not so strong and dark as in England. I said at the beginning that meals taken in a good restaurant are almost in the nature of a ritual and not something that has to be got over with as quickly as possible. For that reason, you are likely to have to wait a little before your meal is served, for in most restaurants each order is dealt with individually, so that each course may appear on the table as fresh and hot as possible.

Even in the small, simple inns off the main streets, the innkeepers devote a great deal of attention to the appearance of their dining rooms, using fine table linen, good china, and silver cutlery. In the great cities, where life moves so much faster, people are grateful to have their meals in quiet and comfortable surroundings. Consciously or unconsciously they recognize the fact that food eaten slowly and with enjoyment is better for their health than food gulped down in a hurry.

But now, after all these preliminary remarks, it is really time to start on our journey.

Let us begin in the north, in Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein. One of the most famous products of this region is eel soup which, so at any rate claim the people of Hamburg, is equalled only by one other soup in the world: bouillabaisse in Marseilles. Rather less elaborate in its composition, but still tasty and rich, is the fat pea soup with pigs' snout and pigs' trotters. The list of dishes with a liberal use of fresh vegetables is too long to enumerate here. The "Vierländer Mastente", the local roast duck, is world famous, and through Hamburger steak, "hamburgers" for short, the name of Germany's second city has become a household word even in the most remote corners of Texas or Nebraska.

The sea, of course, figures prominently on every menu. There are many small oyster bars where North Sea oysters can be eaten all the year round, raw or baked. Often they are served with cheese and always with a glass of old red wine. A glass of light Hamburg ale is a fitting conclusion to such a meal. If you like something stronger, have a double Kuemmel or some Aquavit. For protection against a stiff breeze, there is stiff grog, a beverage of water, sugar, and a generous helping of rum. It is served boiling hot and regarded as the best cure for a cold. Just as grog is popular among men, so another regional speciality of world renown is popular with the children: Luebeck marzipan, a confection which has been prepared from the same recipe for over five hundred years and whose main ingredients are sweet and bitter almonds and sugar.

In the northwest corner of Germany there is fierce competition between Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia. The issue is: which of the three states produces the best ham? Although it is said that one man's meat is another man's poison, public opinion tends to think that Westphalia has a slight edge on the other two. The ham is smoked



sword which he trod upon, and it was in a bloody state.

“The foreman of the jury (Mr. Place, of Charing Cross) asked the witness if he thought the deceased had any reason to be dissatisfied with the duke. He replied, on the contrary, he thought Sellis had more reason to be satisfied than any other of the servants ; his Royal Highness had stood godfather for one of his children, the Princess Augusta godmother. The duke had shown him very particular favour by giving him apartments for his wife and family, with coals and candles.

“A jurymen asked him if he ever heard the deceased complain of the duke. The witness asked if he was obliged to answer that question. The coroner informed him he must. He then stated that about two or three years since the duke advanced their board wages from 10s. 6*d.* a week to 14s., but at the same time took off 3s. 6*d.*, allowed for travelling. After this regulation was adopted, a paper was drawn up by the steward for the servants to sign, expressing their satisfaction at the regulation, which the deceased refused to sign, and said ‘he’d be d——d if he did, and none but blackguards would sign it.’ The steward told him the duke said he must sign it, or his wife and family must quit the apartments he had given them, as the rest of the servants had signed it. He had never heard the deceased complain since. Within the last year, the duke and royal



*An angling idyll in the Spessart*

over a wood fire, the smoke being perfumed with juniper. The ham tastes best eaten raw. Large pink slices which must only have a thin edge of fat are served on small wooden boards, preferably with butter and "pumpernickel", the famous Westphalian bread of coarse rye grain, which is baked for twenty-four hours. The final touch to this meal is given by a glass of Steinhäeger, a strong spirit not unlike gin. This is another of the regional specialties. It comes on the table in slim earthenware bottles, the so-called "Kruken".

In Westphalia they say that there is but one thing wrong with a pig: it has only two hams in front and two at the back. Yet they manage to prepare very adequate dishes from the remaining parts. The Westphalian national dish is bacon and large beans. It obtains its special flavor from summer savory which is specially grown as a seasoning for this purpose. Holstein, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia supply first-class sausages. "Mettwurst" from Brunswick has become world-famous as a perfect sausage for spreading. With Westphalian "Mettwurst" it has nothing in common but the name. The latter is made of coarsely minced beef and pork, seasoned with mustard seed, pepper, and salt, and filled into carefully cleaned gut. It is dried in the open air until it is rock hard. Lightly smoked, it is the best part of a Westphalian pea soup. When sliced, this air-dried sausage is, next to ham, the finest thing you can put on a sandwich. In Soest, the meat of the "Mettwurst" is often wrapped in bread dough or flaky pastry and baked.

In this form it can be bought from baker and butcher alike. What the Steinhäeger is to Eastern Westphalia, the Muensterländer, a potent spirit made from corn, is to Muensterland and the Ruhr. Both go well with the world-renowned Dortmund beer.

The cooking on the Rhine is as varied as the Rhineland itself. On the Lower Rhine they like the rich, substantial food which is favored in Westphalia and the neighboring Netherlands. The wine-growing districts of the Middle Rhine, Mosel and Ahr, prefer rather lighter fare. The merry wit of the Rhinelanders does not stop short of the table, and many a joke can be found on the menus in this region which is, after all, the home of the carnival. To quote but one example, there is "Half a Cock" which can be ordered for a few cents in many of the small inns in the old quarters of Düsseldorf, and which appears in front of the astonished guest as half a roll with mustard and cheese.

With jugged hare there are no such surprises. It is a sizeable hare, larded with pork, soaked in Spanish red wine, Ahrburgunder, and brandy, seasoned with pâté spices, and cooked in an earthenware dish. In the Rhineland they love to celebrate festivals, and with every festival there goes a special kind of pastry. The best known varieties are the "Weckmaenner" (little men fashioned of dough), which are the children's delight on Martin's Day and St. Nicolas' Day; the "Ollikrappkes", which are a kind of doughnut fried in hot oil and eaten mostly at New Year and carnival time; "Aachener Printen",

eyes shut as open, that we ought not to be surprised at anything. Notwithstanding, many persons were surprised at the sagacity of Neale, not only in this, but in many other particulars. If the duke, "covered with gore, accompanied this servant to alarm the house," the traces of blood on the doors, etc., leading to Sellis's room, might be very naturally accounted for. They, however, thought it better not to call Sellis themselves, but sent Neale's wife to do it! Although the duke pointed out to his confidential man the door through which the villain had escaped, his Royal Highness "felt afraid the murderer was still in his bedroom," which we have no reason to doubt! "A pair of slippers were left in an adjoining room, with the name of Sellis upon them." That Sellis left them there, however, is rather improbable; because it is natural to suppose he would, if he had been the murderer, have gone to his master's room without slippers, or shoes of any kind, to make as little noise as possible. This circumstance, we are inclined to think, was a planned affair, though badly executed; for we know that these slippers were placed the wrong way, — a fact which will be hereafter proved. Through the whole of Neale's evidence, not a word was said to show that Sellis had the least motive for murdering either the duke or himself. On the contrary, "Sellis had everything to expect from his master's living."

In concluding our remarks upon Neale's evi-

a type of spicy gingerbread which is always eaten at Christmas and which has a powerful rival in the sort of almond pastry made in Rheinberg and Cleves; and lastly, the delicious "Spekulatius", yet another kind of ginger-bread biscuit.

In spite of the Rhineland's great reputation as a wine country, very good beer is brewed there. A glass of "Bitburger" can hold its own any time against Dortmund beer. But wine is the noblest product of the land. It would take us too long to name individually all the wonderful wines grown along the Rhine, Nahe, Mosel, and Ahr. Any guest will do well to turn for advice to the innkeeper when it is a question of choosing a good wine. There are many excellent table wines suitable for drinking at a meal. But if you want to enter deeply into the spirit of the wine and the Rhine, sit down with a good bottle in a quiet corner of one of the many wine rooms in the district and enjoy the wine for its own sake. A slice of white bread and a small piece of cheese are all the connoisseur will allow himself when he wants to savor his wine to the full. The wine-growing districts of the Rhine continue into Rhine-Hesse and the Palatinate. The countryside in the Palatinate has an almost southern aspect. Almonds, peaches, apricots, and even figs grow in that Garden of Eden. Spring arrives in Germany already in early March along the "Bergstrasse". Here, more than anywhere else in Germany, a quarter of open wine has become the

popular drink, and as do their French neighbors, people like to eat home-grown chestnuts with it. Mainz has given its name to a cheese which is famed far afield. It is no bigger than the palm of your hand, and is made by the peasants of the district in their own homes by a process that is centuries old.

The most important town of Hesse is Frankfort on the Main. From here it is not far to the Rhine, or up-river to the vineyards of the Main, where the famous wines of Franconia are grown. But the people of Frankfort are known for their local pride, and so they have created a special drink of their own, "Applewoi", a fermented beverage of pressed apples, which is as difficult for strangers' tongues to enjoy as its name is to pronounce. But the citizens of Frankfort love their apple wine rooms to which they flock in droves. Meat snacks are served there with the wine, among them the famous Frankforter sausages which are perhaps even more famous than hamburgers. Onion pie and bacon pie are two specialities which go particularly well with wine. In the southern part of the Rhineland, the potato is less important as a staple part of the meal and farinaceous foods are more common. What dumplings are to the Bavarians, "Spaetzle" are to the Swabians. For centuries the Swabians have been looked upon as the most inventive and industrious people among the Germans. This urge always to discover something new, something better, also extends to the kitchen: to enumerate the many



Wielandstein in Baden-Wuerttemberg

But, sir, should his Royal Highness have forgiven him, then I must be under the most disagreeable necessity to beg his Royal Highness to have the goodness to dispose of me as his Royal Highness may think proper, so that I may not have the mortification to live and act in the same room with a man I have convicted as a rogue, and with whom no human being is able to live on friendly terms. Had it been his Royal Highness's pleasure to have had this business in a court of justice, the man would have been transported at least for seven years ; and what I am going to communicate to you now is, I believe, transportation for life. I have been told, sir, that Mr. Neale cheats his Royal Highness in everything he buys ; in two different articles I have already ascertained this to be a fact ; on the toothpicks he gains fifty per cent., by charging eighteen pence for that for which he only pays one shilling, and on the soap he charges two shillings for that which he pays eighteen pence, and should his Royal Highness wish me to proceed with these discoveries, it will be found that the dishonesty of this man has no bounds. The evidence you have taken, sir, and what I have communicated to Major Thornton, with which also you must be acquainted, you must be satisfied, that this man is as great a villain as ever existed ; no oath or promise is binding with him ; and he relates alike that which he must have sworn to keep sacred in his bosom, as he will a most trifling thing ; and slan-

ways in which "Spaetzle", made from a kind of noodle paste, are prepared and served, would require a cookery book of its own. The housewives of Swabia are just as inventive when it comes to filling their "Maultaschen", small pockets of dough stuffed with veal and pork, sweetbreads, vegetables, and spices. The crowning glory of the art of baking in this field is the cherry tart of the Black Forest, which is best enjoyed with a good cup of coffee in a coffee house in Freiburg.

The southwest corner of Germany produces excellent vegetables. Schwetzing asparagus has no equal anywhere in the world. But the beverages, too, add to the fame of the region. The wines of Wuerttemberg and Baden can stand worthily beside the more famous vintages of the Rhine. In the volcanic district around the Kaiserstuhl grow vines which are thought by many to produce Germany's top wines. They should not be tasted without also trying the delicious fish which abound in the local waters. The speciality of the Lake of Constance is blue char. In the wild streams of the Black Forest there is an inexhaustible supply of superb trout.

The Black Forest, along with Bavaria, is the region of lumbermen and raftsmen. Strong men need strong drink to keep warm when working, especially in winter. That is how raspberry spirit came into being, a potent schnaps with the delicate

aroma of ripe raspberries. Kirsch and plum brandy are two other products of the distillers' art in which the full flavor of the fruit has been successfully preserved in spite of the high alcohol content. It is better not to have these strong drinks on an empty stomach but to eat a hearty breakfast first. The peasant in the Black Forest has his Kirsch with bacon and rye bread.

When we were talking about Frankfort, we mentioned the wine of Franconia. Politically, Franconia belongs to the State of Bavaria. But the Franconians are as different from their brothers in Munich and in the Bavarian mountains as a "Bocksbeutel" is from a "Moass". The "Bocksbeutel" is a bottle shaped like a pouch in which the wine of Franconia is served for preference. The "Moass" is an earthenware pot of one liter capacity from which the Bavarians drink their beer. In Franconia there are innumerable cosy small inns where juicy pork sausages are roasted over a charcoal fire. Different varieties of these sausages figure prominently on the limited menus of the small eating places, whether one has one's "Bocksbeutel" and a bite to eat in Wuerzburg, Bamberg, Coburg, or Nuremberg.

If you are hungry, see what you can do with a Frankish "Schlachtplatte". It consists of the most succulent cuts of freshly-killed pork, every one of which, according to its nature, is served either boiled, roasted, fried, grilled, or braised. Franconia and Lower Bavaria brew superb beers, such as Wuerzburger and Kulmbacher, whose century-old recipes were mainly developed and improved in monasteries. But the Mecca of beer drinkers is, and always will be, Munich. The event of the year is the "Wies'n", the October Festival, which every year brings hundreds of thousands of visitors to the town on the Isar. There the tourist in his town suit rubs shoulders with farmers and lumbermen at plain wooden tables in the large tents and enjoys his beer. With strong drink and hard work goes hearty food. Instead of potatoes there are dumplings. They are balls the size of a fist, made from grated potato or dough containing diced bacon or small pieces of white bread, and boiled in salty water. With them are eaten legs of pork or the more substantial legs of veal — a meal for three or four adults anywhere else. Sauerkraut is much favored with fat meat. On the "Wies'n", where one goes not only to eat but also to stare, there are also uncounted stands selling "Weisswurst" (white sausages) and roast chickens, which you eat with your fingers while the crowds slowly bear you along. Fish are roasted on sticks over open fires. Entire carcasses of beef turn on spits. The aroma of the gently browning meat is part of the typical atmosphere of the October Festival.

In Munich itself there are, of course, a number of superlative inns which can hold their own with the best restaurants in the great capitals of the world. But the Bavarians are still closer to the soil



Rail and road climb up to the Schwaebische Alb

distressing and horrible state. It could not be discovered what his Royal Highness's nightcap was made of, it being completely soaked in blood; the first blow given his Royal Highness was providentially prevented from proving fatal, from the duke wearing a padded ribbon bandage round his cap, and a tassel, which came in contact with the sword; the bedclothes generally were blooded; the paper of the room, the prints and paintings, the door at the head of the bed (through which his Royal Highness endeavoured to make his escape) was cut with the sword at the time the villain was cutting at the duke, and the dark assassin must have followed his Royal Highness to the door of an anteroom, which was also spotted with blood."

Supposing Sellis to be the villain here meant, the wretched means he took to accomplish the end in view were so inadequate, that it were quite impossible for him to have done all the bloody work so minutely related, from the position in which the parties were placed. The duke was in a modern high bed, his head well protected with "a padded ribbon bandage," the only vital part of him that was above the bedclothes, and the curtains drawn around him. Sellis was not taller than the level of the bedclothes, and yet he chose a sword to attack his recumbent master! In a contest so unequal, the duke might have annihilated Sellis in a minute.





observed nothing particular about him for six weeks past, when he complained of a pain in his chest. He never complained to him of harsh treatment from the duke. He attended him four or five years since for a pain in his chest, which he said was brought on by riding on horseback. He understood he lived very happy with his wife. His wife told him it was of no use his sending physic for the pain in his chest, for he would not take it. He never observed any symptoms of derangement in him."

It will here be perceived that Sellis was neither deranged, nor had the slightest cause for attempting his own life, or that of his master. Is it not singular that Mr. Jones mentioned nothing about the wound in Sellis's throat, or the methodical position in which the murdered man was found? Was he permitted to examine the body? If he was not, dark suspicion must ever attend upon those who refused any medical man such a privilege; and if he did view it, why not have given his opinion of the matter? But this affords another proof of the unfairness of the proceedings on this inquest.

"Ann Neale, the housekeeper, said she was called up at about three o'clock on Thursday morning by her husband; at the same time she heard the duke saying, 'I am murdered.' She got up with all possible speed, and saw the duke bleeding very much in the valet's room. She went

allow the machine, which is running at top speed the year round, to rest once a twelvemonth — to rest with plenty of sleep, with a certain amount of physical exercise, and above all, with mental relaxation. If, at the same time, you can provide your organism with a few mineral salts of which it has been starved, and do all this in the fresh air, your cure will be doubly effective.

It seems that already the ancient Romans had doctors as clever as your own. And the Romans, who marched up and down Germany long enough, had already discovered 2,000 years ago that the many mineral springs in the territories occupied by them were springs of health and vitality in the true sense of the word. Aix-la-Chapelle and Wiesbaden are but two of a whole number of German spas which today have the same attraction for those in need of a cure as in the time of Augustus.

We don't want to go into geology here, otherwise I would explain that many of the German springs are of volcanic origin. Other spas utilize the regenerative power of mud baths. Others again tap the health-giving properties of the sea, and lastly there are those where the water itself, used in the appropriate way, is the most important factor in the cure, according to the experience collected and passed on by Sebastian Kneipp, an old priest.

There are in Germany far more than 100 medicinal springs officially recognized by the medical profession. In every one of them you will feel comfortable if you are looking for nothing more than rest and relaxation. But if your doctor has told you that your heart, your respiratory organs, your circulation, or any specific organ or function requires special attention, then you should pick from the long list of resorts the one which caters best for your particular needs. Your doctor will advise you in this matter, and in the spa also you will have constant medical, and, if you require it, nursing attention. From the table attached to this text you can see what is most suitable for you. It comes from an excellent prospectus, "Health Resorts in Germany", published by the German Tourist Center, Frankfurt on the Main. But let me give you some extracts from the prospectus concerning what medical opinion has to say about the spas.

Medical springs differ from ordinary springs in their temperature and in the quantity of gases and minerals they contain. The relative preponderance of anions or cations determines the character of the waters. Hydrocarbon, chloride, and sulphate ions, combined with sodium, calcium, and magnesium cations, represent the most important basic types of medicinal springs; iron, sulphur, arsenic, carbonic acid, and radium emanations are other important ingredients of certain springs. The waters from these springs are used for drinking, bathing, and inhalations.

The curative effect of the climate in many resorts plays as important a part as the actual baths, especially in cases of disorders of the nervous system, the respiratory organs, and the circulation of the blood. The stimulating effect of sunshine, the differences in temperature at various times of the day, the purity and uniform moisture content of the air, are characteristic of the different climatic health resorts. The climate of mountain ranges of medium height may be defined as relaxing in summer and mildly stimulating in winter. The stimulating factors are more important on the sea shore and in the higher mountain ranges.

Medicinal baths constitute above all a treatment for the entire organism; hence their importance as a constitutional therapeutic method. An inclination to catarrh or rheumatic disorders can be overcome by means of a trip to the sea or the mountains. A treatment with thermal or brine baths has a very favorable influence on the reaction of a sensitive constitution to harmful climatic or occupational conditions. The degenerative influences of old age can be retarded by the rejuvenating effect of medicinal baths.

Heart disease and disorders of the circulatory organs, certain forms of arterial hypertension, disorders of the blood supply to the coronary arteries, circulatory disorders due to hyperfunctioning of the thyroid gland, usually react more favorably to a cure in a spa under suitable climatic and dietetic conditions with baths containing a carefully prescribed and gradually increasing dose of carbonic acid than to similar treatment at home or in a hospital. The attractive surroundings, release from daily routine, restful atmosphere and stimulating entertainment offered by the resort combine with the specific effects of the carbonic acid in promoting cutaneous circulation and cardiac function. Rheumatic complaints can be completely cured, especially in the early stages, by a suitable treatment with baths after the seat of infection has been eliminated. In cases of longer illness, where deformation of the joints has already set in, and also in cases of gout, a treatment with baths relieves pain, reduces the inflammation of the joints, and restores mobility. Springs containing radium, sulphur springs, thermal springs, and especially mud and peat baths, are particularly indicated for the treatment of rheumatic disorders, on account of their thermal and chemical effect. Massage, remedial exercises, showers, baths and exercises combined, and the great experience of staff and doctors in spas for the cure of rheumatism, often lead to astonishing cures even in very advanced stages of the disease. Insufficiently developed female reproductive organs — a frequent cause of sterility — and chronic inflammation of these organs, can be cured by an intensive treatment with peat and mud baths, sulphur baths, and other waters with a strong chemical action. When such disorders are combined with anemia, pump-room cures with waters containing

observed nothing particular about him for six weeks past, when he complained of a pain in his chest. He never complained to him of harsh treatment from the duke. He attended him four or five years since for a pain in his chest, which he said was brought on by riding on horseback. He understood he lived very happy with his wife. His wife told him it was of no use his sending physic for the pain in his chest, for he would not take it. He never observed any symptoms of derangement in him."

It will here be perceived that Sellis was neither deranged, nor had the slightest cause for attempting his own life, or that of his master. Is it not singular that Mr. Jones mentioned nothing about the wound in Sellis's throat, or the methodical position in which the murdered man was found? Was he permitted to examine the body? If he was not, dark suspicion must ever attend upon those who refused any medical man such a privilege; and if he did view it, why not have given his opinion of the matter? But this affords another proof of the unfairness of the proceedings on this inquest.

"Ann Neale, the housekeeper, said she was called up at about three o'clock on Thursday morning by her husband; at the same time she heard the duke saying, 'I am murdered.' She got up with all possible speed, and saw the duke bleeding very much in the valet's room. She went

*German spas with their curative media and chief indications*

Name of Spa	Height above sea level in meters	Curative Media										Indications									
		Chloride water Brines	Water containing iodine	Hydrogenous and carbonate water	Sulphate water	Water containing sulphur	Water containing iron and arsenic	Water containing carbonic acid	Radio active water containing radium	Hol springs	Mud baths	Respiratory organs	Blood conditions and exhaustion	Women's complaints	Urinary complaints	Skin diseases	Heart and circulation	Children's diseases	Rheumatism and joints	Metabolism	Gall, liver, stomach
Aix-la-Chapelle, Northrhine-Westphalia	174	+		+						+						+			+		
Abbach, Bavaria	356										+			+		+			+		
Aibling, Bavaria	480										+			+					+		
Baden-Baden	153	+								+	+	+							+		
Badenweiler, Baden	450										+								+	+	
Bentheim, Lower Saxony	90					+													+		
Bertrich, Rhineland-Palatinate	165			+							+								+		+
Bocklet, Bavaria	210					+	+	+			+			+			+		+		+
Bramstedt, Schleswig-Holstein	14	+									+			+					+		
Brueckenau, Bavaria	320							+			+			+	+				+		
Driburg, Northrhine-Westphalia	220			+	+		+	+			+			+	+				+	+	+
Duerkheim, Rhineland-Palatinate	132	+	+				+						+			+			+		
Duerrheim, Baden	800	+										+		+					+		
Eilsen, Lower Saxony	86					+					+			+		+			+		
Ems, Rhineland-Palatinate	85			+						+		+					+				
Essen, Lower Saxony	200	+																+	+		
Godesberg, Northrhine-Westphalia	90			+								+					+		+		
Griesbach, Baden	508			+			+	+			+		+	+			+				+
Grund, Lower Saxony	320—450										+			+					+		
Harzburg (Harz Mountains), Lower Saxony	250	+										+							+		+
Heidelberg (Neckar), Wuerttemb.-Baden	400								+	+		+		+							
Heilbrunn, Bavaria	685	+	+														+		+		
Hermannsborn, Northrhine-Westphalia	265						+	+						+			+		+		
Hersfeld, Hesse	230	+			+		+													+	+
Hindelang-Bad Oberdorf, Bavaria	900				+	+					+			+					+		
Hoheneck, Wuerttemberg-Baden	200	+																		+	+
Homburg v. d. Hoehe, Hesse	200	+					+				+								+	+	+
Honnef (on the Rhine), Northrhine-Westph.	54							+				+					+		+	+	+
Kissingen, Bavaria	201	+					+	+			+	+		+					+	+	+
Koenig, Hesse	200						+						+							+	+
Koenig-Otto-Bad, Bavaria	512							+			+			+					+		
Kohlgrub, Bavaria	904			+			+	+			+			+					+		
Kreuznach, Rhineland-Palatinate	104	+	+				+		+			+		+			+	+			
Krozingen, Baden	233				+					+				+			+	+			
Landstuhl, Rhineland-Palatinate	250										+			+					+		
Langenbruecken, Baden	114					+					+								+		
Liebenzell, Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	400	+								+				+		+			+		
Lippspringe, Northrhine-Westphalia	150			+	+					+		+		+					+		
Lueneburg, Lower Saxony	15	+									+							+	+		
Meinberg, Northrhine-Westphalia	210				+						+			+			+	+	+		
Mergentheim, Wuerttemberg-Baden	210	+		+										+			+				
Mingolsheim, Baden	114					+					+									+	+
Muenster a. Stein, Rhineland-Palatinate	117	+							+	+		+		+			+	+			
Nauheim, Hesse	144	+						+		+							+	+	+		
Nenndorf, Lower Saxony	70	+				+					+						+	+	+		
Neuenahr, Rhineland-Palatinate	92			+				+		+				+				+			
Neustadt on the Saale, Bavaria	240				+			+		+					+		+			+	+
Oeynhausen, Northrhine-Westphalia	71	+					+	+		+				+				+	+	+	+
Orb, Hesse	200	+					+	+									+	+	+		
Peterstal, Baden	400							+			+						+	+	+		
Pyrmont, Lower Saxony	112	+		+			+	+			+		+	+	+		+	+	+		
Rappenau, Baden	237	+										+		+			+	+	+		

him about a week since if he had succeeded. And he replied he had not yet. He and his family were in so much favour, that every court-day, when the queen came to dress at the duke's apartments for the drawing-room, Sellis's wife and children were had down for the queen and princess to see them. On the last drawing-room the child the princess stood for was had into the queen's private apartments. A special privilege was granted to Sellis of a bell being permitted to be put up, to ring him to the duke from his family's apartments. The deceased would quarrel with people sooner than give up a point."

This woman's description of the door of Sellis's room being fastened inside was, doubtless, thought to be a very clever affair. Guilt, however, generally betrays itself; for, instead of bursting open the door so secured, "she, and other servants, went to another door, which opened to his room," and which door was not fastened inside. Now would not the first impulse of every person, unconscious of crime, in such a peculiar situation as this woman was placed, have rather suggested the breaking open of Sellis's door than going around to another? If both doors had been secured, the thing would have appeared a little more consistent.

"Benjamin Smith, porter to the Duke of Cumberland, said that, about a quarter before three o'clock, he was called up by the duke and Neale, who said his Royal Highness had been murdered.

[illegible]

*(The following information was obtained from the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.)*

*North Sea Resorts*

Balticum  
Borkum  
Buesum  
Cuxhaven  
Juist  
Langeoog  
Norderney  
Spiekeroog  
St. Peter-Ording  
Wangeroog  
Westerland (Sylt)  
Wittduen (Amrum)  
Wyk auf Föhr

*Baltic Resorts*

Gluecksburg  
Groemitz  
Heiligenhafen  
Niendorf  
Timmendorfer Strand  
Travemuende

## The German Curative Climatic Health Resorts with their Indications

Name of the Health Resort	Height above sea level in meters	Neuro-vegetative disturbances	Convalescence	Conditions of Exhaustion	Anaemia	Respiratory organs	Heart diseases	Circulation disorders	Diseases of the Thyroid Glands	Tuberculosis
Berchtesgaden, Bavaria	530—700	+								
Bauhlage (Harz Mountains), Lower Saxony	560—720	+	+	+	+	+				
Buehlerhoehe (Black Forest), Baden	780	+					+	+		
Freudenstadt (Black Forest), Wuerttemberg	740	+		+			+	+		
Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Bavaria	700	+	+	+				+		
Hahnenklee-Bockswiese (Harz Mountains), Lower Saxony	570	+			+				+	
Herrenalb (Black Forest), Wuerttemberg- Hohenzollern	400	+		+				+		
Hochenschwand (Black Forest), Baden	1015	+		+	+	+				
Koenigsfeld (Black Forest), Baden	760	+	+		+	+				
Koenigsstein (Taunus), Hesse	450	+	+	+		+		+		
Lenzkirch (Black Forest), Baden	810	+	+	+	+	+				
Oberstdorf (Allgaeu), Bavaria	843	+		+	+			+		
Bad Sachsa (Southern Harz Mountains), Lower Saxony	360	+		+	+	+		+		
St. Blasien (Black Forest), Baden	800	+	+	+		+		+		
Schoenberg, Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	650	+	+			+				+
Todtmoos (Black Forest), Baden	800	+				+		+		

### German Kneipp Resorts and their Principal Indications

Berneck, Bavaria	400	<p><i>General</i> For the prevention and influencing of premorbid conditions. Insurement.</p> <p><i>Special</i> Diseases of the heart and blood vessels, including blood pressure regulation, peripheral-circulatory disturbances, neuro-circulatory disturbances, disturbances of the metabolism in connection with circulatory disturbances, functional and organic nervous complaints. In particular vegetative neuroses and dystonias, neuralgia, ischia, etc. Rheumatic complaints, disturbances of the stomach and intestines (chronic constipation), women's complaints, in so far as bathing cures are required.</p>
Kassel-Wilhelmshoehe, Hesse	350	
Bad Lauterberg (Harz Mountains), Lower Saxony	300	
Bad Woerishofen (Allgaeu), Bavaria	630	

iron are extremely effective. Many peat spas also have chalybeate springs; the iron content of these is particularly easily absorbed by the body and stimulates the process of blood renewal.

Stomach, intestinal and gall bladder complaints (especially chronic gastric conditions and chronic inflammation of the bile ducts) are treated with pump-room cures, alkaline waters being indicated in cases of hyper-acidity of the stomach, and sodium chloride waters when the stomach produces too little acid. Glauber's salt springs stimulate the production of bile and the blood circulation in liver and bile ducts. Peat and mud baths reinforce the pump-room cure.

For chronic catarrh of the respiratory organs, bronchial asthma and emphysema of the lungs, a visit to a spa or a climatic health resort, as well as treatment with one of the many alkaline or sulphurous waters, is indicated. These waters are used for pump-room cures or inhalations. The baths and change of climate have a favorable effect

on the sensitive organism and diminish the predisposition to catarrh. The absence of allergy-producing factors in asthma resorts soon leads to freedom from attacks. Other allergy disorders like hay fever may be arrested by a stay at one of the North Sea island resorts.

The increase in urinary excretion achieved by drinking alkaline or earthy water free from sodium chloride is a favorable agent in the treatment of affections of the urinary ducts and predisposition to gravel and stones. Although the stones may not be dissolved, the inclination for new ones to form will be reduced. Where skin diseases are a symptom of a general condition, the stimulating effect of taking the waters will prove beneficial. Chronic eczema, psoriasis, and hypersensitivity of the skin are cured by pump-room and bathing cures with sulphurous waters.

Disorders in the function of the sympathetic nervous system, nervous vascular disorders — common complaints all over the world since the war — are best

malice toward him ; neither do we wish to accuse him with interested motives when he made the above statement. But justice asks, why was not the opinion of six medical men, at least, recorded on this very momentous head ? We will, however, tell the reader why. One or two other professional persons did examine the body of poor Sellis, and, if they had been allowed to give their opinion, would assuredly have convinced every honest man of the impossibility of Sellis being his own murderer. One of these, Doctor Carpue, has frequently been heard to say that "the head of Sellis was nearly severed from his body, and that even the joint was cut through." Doctor Carpue has also stated that "no man could have the power to hold an instrument in his hand to cut one-eighth of the depth of the wound in the throat of Sellis."

"Sergeant Creighton, of the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards, said, in consequence of the alarm of the duke being murdered, he went with several men into the house ; when they came to the deceased's room, the servants were afraid to go in on account of the noise ; he in consequence took the candle from them. He found the deceased dead, with his throat cut, and a razor about two yards from the bed ; the deceased was quite dead, but not cold ; the blood was then running and frothing out of his neck. He did not appear to have struggled with any person, but had his



treated with waters producing a mild effect (especially thermal, alkaline, and brine springs) which bring about a functional change in the tonus of the nervous system. In patients who have been unsuccessfully treated with drugs and injections, joy of living and capacity for work are restored, and mental equilibrium is established.

## HOW TO TRAVEL IN GERMANY

In June 1953, a small advertisement appeared in the daily newspapers of the Bonn district which filled many readers with nostalgia. It read: "Several donkeys for sale. N.N., Koenigswinter." Two lines of small print in the classified section were a last reminder of those faithful asses which summer after summer had carried so many visitors up the Drachenfels — the most frequented mountain in the world. They could no longer compete against the new electric rack railway. The sale of the Drachenfels donkeys marks the disappearance in Germany of the last public conveyance which relied on nothing more than the four legs of an animal. In the shallows on the North Sea coast there are still a few horse-drawn trams, but the carriages run on rails, and rails have after all, in a historical sense, become the symbol of a new era of transportation.

Today we can see this symbol losing its dominating position. Autobahns create new connections, giant aircraft bridge in a few hours distances which an express train needs a whole day to cover. But speed alone does not ensure pleasure in travel. If one is not in too much of a hurry, it is worth while to see to it that the journey itself becomes enjoyable.

The donkeys on the Drachenfels were a pleasure, not a necessity. Germany is completely covered by a network of good roads and rail connections. For those in a hurry, there is an excellent air service within the country to important places in Europe, the Near and Far East, and the other continents. The visitor may choose the means of transport which suits him best. He can bring his own car, he can make use of the various international air lines, he can buy a ticket for one of the fast and comfortable trains of the Federal Railways, he can hire a car with or without chauffeur, he can avail himself of one of the long-distance bus services, he can ascend mountains by lift, cable, or rack railway, he can cycle the length and breadth of Germany, or prove his sporting instincts by travelling in a canoe on the inland waterways, but let him not forget to include a trip by river steamer in his itinerary — either in that magnificent stretch of the Rhine between Bingen and Bonn, or up the sunny Neckar, or on that lovely section of the Weser between Hannoversch-Muenden and the Porta Westfalica.

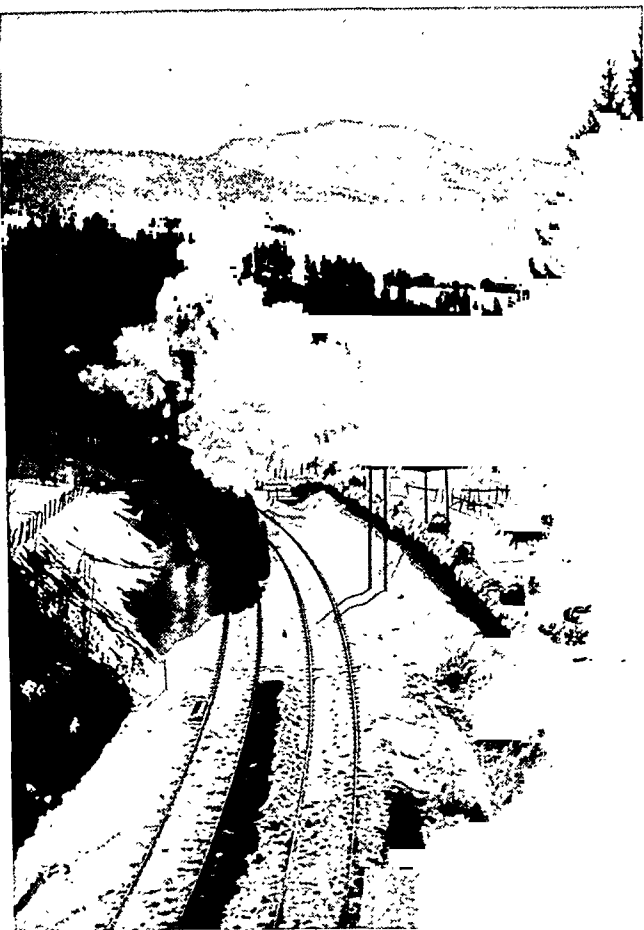
The rail network of Western Germany comprises about 25,000 miles of track, 85 per cent of which is owned by the Federation. Approximately 3,750 miles are owned by states, districts, towns, and

private companies. These branch lines are specially useful for taking visitors to places to which the main lines have no access. This is particularly true in the case of the mountain and cable railways, such as the cable railway up to the Zugspitze near Garmisch-Partenkirchen, the cable railway across the valley of the Inn to the Wendelstein, the railways up the Nebelhorn near Oberstdorf in the Allgaeu and the Koenigsstuhl near Heidelberg, and the Schauinsland railway in the Black Forest.

All long-distance trains are run by the Federal Railways. There are five different types of passenger trains: local passenger trains which serve as connecting link between main line stations, interurban express trains which provide a fast service over short distances in densely-populated areas, through-trains, express trains, and long-distance express trains. The last three offer, for the payment of a graduated surcharge, not only faster service but also greater comfort. The German Federal Railways, in spite of considerable losses suffered in the war and immediate post-war years, have consistently endeavored to develop their rolling stock and their station, signalling, and safety equipment. In 1951 there were only seven passenger fatalities, not due to the negligence of the victims themselves, in thirty million passenger-kilometers. This represents a safety coefficient which for all practical purposes cannot be improved upon. According to the laws of probability, a passenger would have to travel 620 miles per day for 11,500 years before he would be liable to meet with a fatal accident not due to his own negligence. "Safety First" is truly the motto of the German Federal Railways. At the same time, they are forced by fierce competition from road traffic, i.e., from motor vehicles of all sizes from the "baby" car to the giant bus with bar and lavatory, constantly to improve the quality of their service. This applies to speed as much as to comfort.

Today, the journey from Cologne to Munich in one of the Diesel-electric express trains already developed before the war by the Federal Railways takes 7½ hours. This represents a remarkable cruising speed over a distance of almost 435 miles, which includes considerable gradients at the watershed between Rhine and Danube in the Swabian Alps. The "Rheingold Express" also is once more travelling at 75 miles per hour from the Hook of Holland to Basle — one of the loveliest train journeys in the world — and demonstrating that a railway journey can be pleasant and useful at the same time.

All German express trains have a restaurant car of the "German Restaurant Car Company". These are restaurants on wheels, practical but comfortable, with efficient staff and a surprising choice of food and drink. There is nothing more pleasant on a railway journey than to sit at a well-laid table with a bottle of good Rhine or Mosel wine, while outside, behind those large windows, the country



*Oberstaufen (Bavaria):*

*View from the south entrance of the tunnel towards the Hochgrat*

in which that wine was grown rolls past. Like a film it moves: vineyards shining in the sun, small towns and villages with people waving, then a shaded valley with dark forests rising from green meadows, churches and old castles looking down from mountain tops, and, as the connecting thread running through all this charming variety, the river majestically winding its way to the sea. On its waters hundreds of gaily beflagged boats hurry busily downstream or work their way against the current.

Through-trains and express trains, as well as most stopping trains, have second and third class compartments. Second class compartments are upholstered. But in third class compartments also upholstery is gradually replacing wooden seats. Some of the long-distance express trains also have first class compartments. In first class compartments there are four seats, in second class six seats, and eight seats in third. Restaurant cars are available to passengers of every class. If you want to travel at night to save time, you are advised to take a bed in a sleeper. Here, too, there are three classes, according to whether the compartment holds one, two, or four passengers. The sleeping car attendant looks after you throughout your journey. He will bring you a nightcap of red wine

or cold beer as readily as he will serve tea or coffee in the morning. Some long-distance express trains provide secretarial facilities, permitting you to dictate your letters to a secretary who is a good linguist and pledged to secrecy. She will transcribe your mail quickly and correctly on the typewriter. Thus even the busy executive may enjoy his journey without having to pay for it with loss of precious time, for all along the way the mail he has dealt with in his office on wheels can be posted, and, if he is in a particular hurry, he can even send telegrams.

It is difficult to answer the question whether it is better to go by car or train in Germany. Both means of transport are equally well catered for. In each case it will depend on personal inclination and needs. Going by car affords greater individual mobility. You can stop and get out when you like. You can turn off right or left. You are independent of timetables and can choose your route according to your desires. The road system of Germany is so good that even the most out-of-the-way corner of the Bavarian Woods or the Alpine regions becomes accessible by car. For winter travel it is advisable to take chains against snow and ice.

Germany's Autobahns are world famous, not only for their technical excellence but also for the way they have been routed to touch one beautiful spot after the other. Wherever that broad four-lane ribbon of concrete goes over a mountain, trees have been cut down to afford a panoramic view. Mighty bridges, as satisfying technically as they are aesthetically, arch over the deep valleys of the Mittelgebirge. The eye may constantly feast on beauty; boredom does not exist, even on the longest trip.

Many parking places just off the Autobahn, and a number of rest houses in beauty spots along the road offer a chance to stretch one's legs after a long journey and have some liquid refreshment, a meal or a snack. Blue signs with bold white lettering indicate the nearest rest house, so that one can prepare in good time to turn off the Autobahn. The same goes for filling stations, of which there are plenty. The large white "T" on blue ground gives warning, thirty or forty miles ahead, when to expect the next pump. In this way you do not run the danger of breaking down on the way with an empty gasoline tank. But if it does happen, or anything else is wrong, you go to the nearest telephone and ask the road patrol for help. Hundreds of these telephones are found at short intervals on the broad, green verge separating the two lines of traffic.

There is no speed limit on the Autobahn, except where the traffic has to slow down for road repairs. Autobahns are built in such a way as to permit the taking of bends at any reasonable speed. There are four lanes with a good surface which is skid-proof even when wet. A very efficient road maintenance service sees to it that even in winter, after heavy snow or sudden frost, the roads are

toward Neale is again set forth, and which, in our opinion, goes far to prove the occasion of it, which we have before explained. Neale, in his evidence, attempted to turn this dislike to his own advantage, by charging Sellis with the attack upon his master, and with endeavouring to fix the crime upon him (Neale) out of revenge. "A guilty conscience needs no accuser," — a saying perhaps never better exemplified.

"Thomas Creedy, a private in the Coldstream Regiment of Guards, who was on duty, and the first man who entered the room of Sellis. — The servant being afraid, he trembled so much that he let the candle fall, but he caught it up, and prevented it from going out. After seeing Sellis's throat cut, and hearing robbers were in the house, he looked under the bed. He did not see a coat in the room (which is very small), although there was a blue one belonging to Sellis, with blood on the left cuff, and blood on the side. He observed a wash-hand basin with blood on the sides, and blood in some water. The deceased did not appear to have struggled with any one; his head was against his watch at the head of the bed."

This was one of the soldiers who accompanied Sergeant Creighton; but whether the sergeant or this man was the "first who entered the room of Sellis," is not exactly clear. Creighton, in his evidence, says "it was broad daylight," and, therefore, why candles were required is rather difficult

made safe for traffic as soon as possible. An Autobahn never intersects a railway line or another road. Entering and leaving the traffic lanes is done without impeding or endangering other vehicles. The entrances and exits are signposted miles ahead so that they cannot be missed.

The Autobahns are the principal arteries of motor traffic. They link the various German regions with each other. To travel from, say, Hamburg to Southern Germany, one joins the Autobahn at Hanover and need not leave it again until Stuttgart, Ulm, Munich or Salzburg, over the Austrian border, according to one's destination. They are roads specially made for long-distance traffic on which even smallish cars can comfortably cover three or four hundred miles in a day.

The rest of the road system in the Federal Republic is not on quite so lavish a scale, although it is quite sufficient to meet normal traffic requirements. Here, too, one finds a number of excellent roads for long-distance traffic. And even the secondary roads leading to small, hidden villages, are suitable for motor vehicles.

As on the Autobahns, there are plenty of gasoline stations on the other roads. Most of them are open day and night. Wash rooms and toilet facilities are found everywhere. Many stations provide a cup of coffee or some other kind of refreshment. Small repairs, such as mending a puncture or changing a sparking plug, may be entrusted to a filling station. For more complicated work, there are everywhere repair shops with skilled workers who are quite competent to tackle even those problems which a foreign car might present. Washing and polishing facilities for automobiles are, of course, just as much a part of the normal service as the provision of air and water.

For all special requirements, such as advice about itineraries, you can turn to one of the two large German motoring associations, the ADAC (Allgemeiner Deutscher Automobil-Club) and the AvD (Automobilclub von Deutschland). Good road maps can be bought in any German bookshop. And if one cannot make up one's mind which to choose out of so many possibilities, it is a good idea to ask for the booklet "Happy Travel on Germany's Roads" published by the German Tourist Center. This contains a number of completely worked out itineraries for splendid round trips.

For cars the following documents are necessary:

1. An international permit (Certificat international pour automobile).
2. An international driving licence (Permis international de conduire).
3. A plate denoting country of origin (Plaque de Nationalité).

International permits and driving licences are obtained from the automobile clubs in the traveller's home country. If printed in German or furnished with an authorized German translation, foreign

driving licences and permits are accepted in Germany without any ado.

There is no compulsory third-party insurance in Germany for foreign motorists. But those who are not so insured in their home countries are advised in their own interest to contract a short-term insurance of the sort. All necessary information can be obtained from the German automobile associations, the ADAC and AvD.

If the vehicle is being driven not by its owner but another person who is not domiciled in Germany, a document giving full powers to the driver is required to be signed by the owner and witnessed by an internationally recognized motoring organization. The vehicle must carry at plate denoting country of origin at the rear.

For temporary import of motor vehicles without deposit of the appropriate customs duty, a triptique or Carnet de Passages is required. This is issued by internationally recognized motoring organizations in the various countries. When travelling with caravans, vehicles equipped for accommodation, or luggage trailers, it is advisable to keep a list in duplicate of all the articles and equipment carried. It is not permitted to make over the vehicle or the customs documents to any person permanently domiciled in Germany. If the triptique or Carnet is lost while in Germany, an immediate and detailed report of the circumstances must be made to the ADAC in Munich, if the documents were issued by that organization or provided by any association belonging to the AIT (Alliance Internationale de Tourisme), or to the AvD in Frankfurt if they were issued by the AvD or any association belonging to the FIA (Fédération Internationale Automobile). It is necessary to state the name of the customs office which registered the entry of the vehicle into the country, and also the point on the frontier where it is ultimately proposed to leave. Private motor vehicles may remain in Germany up to 90 days without payment of tax. This period of 90 days of tax-freedom can be made use of more than once during a year. From the 91st day onwards, German motoring tax becomes payable.

Travellers without triptique or Carnet de Passages can obtain at any German frontier customs office a document granting free temporary import of private motor vehicles, including omnibuses, for a period of 30 days.

The fact that Germany lies in the heart of Europe is nowhere made so obvious as on the German roads. Every month many thousands of foreign visitors cross the borders in their cars. And in parking places along the Rhine, in the Black Forest, on the Lake of Constance, and in the valleys of the mountainous regions, cars with the international identification marks GB, DK, NL, F, CH, I, B, L, E, are ranged alongside the big limousines from California, Texas, Wisconsin, Quebec, Louisiana, and Colorado. Why shouldn't your car be among them one day?

he was surprised at seeing him there, supposing him to be in close waiting upon the duke. The deceased appeared to have a shirt in his hand ; he looked very earnest at him, but had a smile on his countenance. He went to take a cupful of light drink for the duke to take in the night, which it was his duty to do. He never heard Sellis speak disrespectfully of the duke."

No satisfactory reason is here given why this man should have felt surprised at seeing Sellis in the bedroom of his master ; for Sellis was there only in the performance of his duty, which the witness acknowledged. How ardently have those connected with this black affair endeavoured to fix the odium upon the murdered man ! Yet how futile, to all reasonable men, must appear their observations ! Sellis, with a "shirt in one hand," and "a cup of light drink" in the other, in the Duke of Cumberland's bedroom, ought not to have created surprise in any one, knowing the peculiar situation which Sellis filled in the household of his Royal Highness. Did Strickland really feel surprised, or was he anxious to say so ? But it will be observed that even this witness confessed "he never heard Sellis speak disrespectfully of the duke." Can it, then, be believed he was guilty of the attack upon his royal master ?

"Sarah Varley, housemaid to the Duke of Cumberland, said she put two bolsters into the closet in the second anti-little room adjoining on Wednes-

# THE TEN LAENDER OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

## NORTHRHINE-WESTPHALIA \*

With nearly fourteen million inhabitants for an area of about 13,130 square miles (1060 to the square mile), Northrhine-Westphalia is the most populous state of the Federal Republic. Of these fourteen million, six million (42 per cent) were gainfully employed in 1950/51. 42 per cent of those employed work in industry, 14 per cent in trade, 11 per cent in commerce, banking and insurance, 6 per cent in transport, 12 per cent in agriculture and forestry, and 15 per cent in other public and private services. Up to April 1, 1953, Northrhine-Westphalia had taken in 1,617,836 refugees.

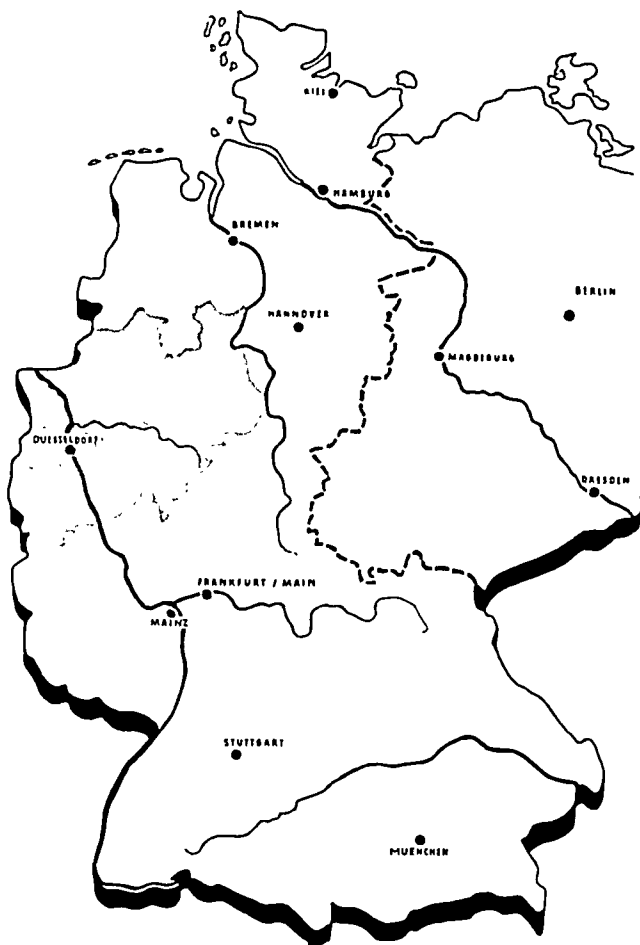
As the State Premier, Karl Arnold, said in 1949: "Northrhine-Westphalia is a new state. It has no long history. Everything is in the present, is development and growth." Northrhine-Westphalia was made a state by the Occupying Powers in 1946. In drawing its boundaries, they were guided by the strong economic and cultural links between the former Rhine Province and the Province of Westphalia. The industrial center of the Ruhr forms part of both provinces. With this fusion, Western Germany's most important industrial potential (especially in the basic industries) was gathered together in a single state. On August 29, 1946, at the direction of British Military Government, the first Diet was constituted. The delegates in this parliament had been proposed by the political parties and appointed by Military Government. There were one hundred each from Northrhine and Westphalia. After the first local elections, in the fall of 1946, Military Government approved a re-allotment of seats in accordance with the election results. Seats in the cabinet were re-allotted at the same time. On April 20, 1947, the people of Northrhine-Westphalia elected their first State Diet. Karl Arnold (CDU) became Premier. He formed a "big coalition", i.e., a State Government consisting of members of the CDU, the SPD, the Center Party and — for a while — the Communist Party.

The state constitution was submitted to the judgment of the electorate on June 18, 1950 and approved by a majority of 57 per cent.

The constitution provides for a State Diet as legislative and a State Government as executive authority. The Premier (Ministerpräsident) is elected by the Diet and chooses the members of his cabinet.

The State Diet can dismiss the elected Premier only by a majority appointment of his successor.

The relationship between state and local authorities is based on the principle of self-administration. The laws governing the functioning of municipal and local government in Northrhine-Westphalia recognize the local authorities as the basis of democratic government and require their locally elected officials to use their powers of self-administration for the benefit of the inhabitants. The federal character of the constitution is further exemplified by the division of the state into two provincial districts: Rhineland and Westphalia, each under the control of a Director. The Directors are responsible for the self-government of their districts as well as for any tasks with which the State Government may entrust them. Northrhine-Westphalia's share in the total production of the Federal Republic is 40 per cent. 95 per cent of all German coal production is concentrated



\* *Translator's Note:* The translation "North Rhine-Westphalia" is also commonly used for "Nordrhein-Westfalen". Although it looks more English, it is, unfortunately, inexact, for Nordrhein-Westfalen is not the northern part of a land "Rhein-Westfalen", but the northern part of the Rhineland plus the whole of Westphalia.

witness replied, he was afraid they should be all murdered, on seeing all the doors opened. The duke insisted they should both stay with him. His Royal Highness repeatedly called for Sellis. In a short time after, some person called at the door that Sellis was found murdered. The duke appeared very anxious for the safety of Sellis, and as soon as Surgeon Home had dressed his wounds he sent him to attend to Sellis. Mr. Home soon returned, and said there was no doubt but that the man had killed himself. Sellis cautioned him not to be friends with Neale. He complained to him of the duke's making him ride in a dickey, as it shook him much, and riding backwards made him ill. Sellis, however, had the carriage altered to go easier, without asking the duke's leave, at Windsor, and he had appeared content with it ever since. Sellis often talked about leaving the duke's service, saying he could not remain in the family if Neale did. He urged him to the contrary, reminding him how kind the duke was to him and his family."

The duke's anxiety for the services of his faithful valet, Sellis, manifested itself by his Royal Highness repeatedly calling for him. "Some person called at the door that Sellis was found murdered," — another proof that the first impression of the servants was the true one. Indeed, truth is ever uppermost in the mind; but artifice requires time to mature its plans. We are sure that our readers will admire with us the "anxiety



*Karl Arnold, Minister President of Northrhine-Westphalia*

in the Land, 83 per cent of iron and steel production, 50 per cent of iron and steel construction, 40 per cent of the chemical, glass and textile industries, as well as 33 per cent of machine construction. The share of the Land in agriculture is also considerable. It amounts to 15.9 per cent of the gross primary production of Western Germany. Northrhine-Westphalia contributes 35 per cent of all income tax collected in the Federal Republic.

At the end of the war, industrial production in Northrhine-Westphalia had shrunk to a third of its pre-war volume. During the first post-war years, the need for reconstruction and the vast accumulated demand governed production policy. Only when the most pressing of these needs had been satisfied, could an effort be made to re-enter world markets and to contribute to Germany's export trade.

Small, indigenous industrial enterprises are as characteristic of many parts of Northrhine-Westphalia as heavy industry is of the Ruhr. In the southern part of the state, in the districts of Sauerland and Siegerland, as well as in the Bergisches Land, there is a thriving small-scale ironware industry, which has developed from the smithies in the small river valleys. Centers of the wood-working industry (especially furniture factories) are situated in the north of the state, around Buende, Herford and Bielefeld.

An area of about 5,000,000 acres of Northrhine-Westphalia is devoted to agriculture, and roughly

2,000,000 acres to forestry. Agricultural production greatly declined after the war, but intensified use of fertilizers, mechanization and rationalization have since increased it to more than its pre-war level. Production of grain in 1952 was 16 per cent greater and of potatoes, 41 per cent greater per hectare than before the war. Livestock production has also recovered. By 1952, the number of cattle and pigs had again reached the pre-war figure and that of poultry exceeded it by 4 per cent.

At the end of the war, of a total of 3,356,000 dwellings (for a population of 11.7 million), 1,142,000 were destroyed or uninhabitable. Today there are 2,959,000 dwellings (for a population of 14 million). Despite great reconstruction programs there remains a gap of 1,070,000 dwelling-units.

Up to January 1, 1947, about 118,000 damaged and uninhabited dwellings had been repaired. From January 1, 1947 until the end of 1951, 179,424 new homes were completed in Northrhine-Westphalia and about 194,503 damaged ones repaired. In 1952, 149,183 homes were completed, no fewer than 97,400 of which were new ones.

Northrhine-Westphalia lies at the intersection of many important traffic arteries. The Rhine flows through the state for a distance of about 140 miles and provides a link with all the important traffic channels of Western Europe. International routes from north to south and east to west, as well as a network of important railroad lines which covers the country, make Northrhine-Westphalia a traffic center of first-rate importance and thus facilitate the exploitation of the economic potential of the Land.

Well over 6,000 historic buildings and monuments were destroyed or more or less badly damaged in Northrhine-Westphalia by the war. Nearly half must be considered a total loss. Many old town centers, for instance in Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Dueren, Essen, Emmerich, Juelich, Cleves, Wesel, Xanten, Anholt, Bocholt, Coesfeld, Duellen, Dortmund, Muenster, Paderborn, Siegen and Soest, were very heavily hit and, in some cases, completely destroyed. It is one of the main concerns of the governing authorities to preserve or restore as many of these treasures as possible.

Great care is also devoted to the fostering and development of contemporary artistic activities. At the celebrations to mark the restoration of the Duesseldorf Academy of Art, Premier Arnold announced the creation of the "State Art Prize of Northrhine-Westphalia" of an annual value of 50,000 DM. He explained its purpose in these words: "With this prize we bear witness to the ancient artistic and cultural traditions of our Land, to our conviction of its leadership in all fields of artistic endeavor, to our consciousness of the obligation to foster artistic talent in Northrhine-Westphalia, and to our desire to accord visible recognition to great artists".

The creation of the State Prize provided an opportunity to reaffirm the complete freedom of artistic



death of the father; and the widow represents the conversation which occurred between her and her husband on the evening of his death as consisting, among other things, in consultations as to the cap and dress in which the child should be presented to the princess; so little did he appear to have in view the event which followed. He was accustomed to spend all the time not required on his attendance on his master with her, to whom he was in the habit of communicating every little incident in which he was concerned that he thought might be interesting to her. On the night in question, he was just as usual, nothing in his conversation or manner betokening the least agitation, much less the contemplation of the murder of his master, on whose favour, as she says, their whole hopes for subsistence and comfort depended. According to her account, he was habitually civil, sober, frugal in his little expenses, and attentive to his duties. His wife and his child appeared the whole world to him; and the poor woman declared that, when he parted from her, but a few hours before the dreadful catastrophe occurred, the committal of a wrong toward the duke appeared as improbable a proceeding from him as the destruction of her and her child. In fact, the one was involved in the other; for when these circumstances came to our knowledge a few years ago, she represented herself as in temporary want and distress."

It was, however, thought prudent to pension

creation and to deny the State any right of interference. The Government of Northrhine-Westphalia confines its activities to fostering the artistic development of the Land without attempting to impose any direction of opinion. The cultural budget was increased from 24,258,100 DM in 1952 to 46,978,600 DM in 1953. 5.2 million DM of this went to the universities. A further important preoccupation of the state is the widest possible propagation of the university extension system.

The Basic Law lays down that it is the Laender, and not the Federal authorities, which are responsible for all cultural affairs. It consequently fell to the Land to put an end to the existing confusion in the school system. Freedom was restored to the universities, high schools providing a classical education were fostered, and the system of promoting gifted scholars, improved. For primary schools, the principle was established that parents should decide the school's attitude to fundamental problems of belief.

In December 1948, the Western Allies established the "Ruhr Statute", which subjected the industrial power of the Ruhr to a system of international direction and control. At the time, no central German government existed. It therefore fell to the Government of Northrhine-Westphalia to cope with this situation. When the "Ruhr Statute"

was proclaimed, State Premier Karl Arnold took the opportunity to make an important statement of policy. He said the time had come to bid farewell to an epoch in which the exercise of national sovereignty was considered the last word in human wisdom. He suggested replacing the unilaterally-dictated Ruhr Statute by "a co-operative association based on international law. To this association, Germany would contribute the Ruhr, France the ore deposits of Lorraine, France and Germany together the Saar, and Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg their heavy industries."

Similar considerations led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. With the establishment of this economic union the "Ruhr Authority" was wound up.

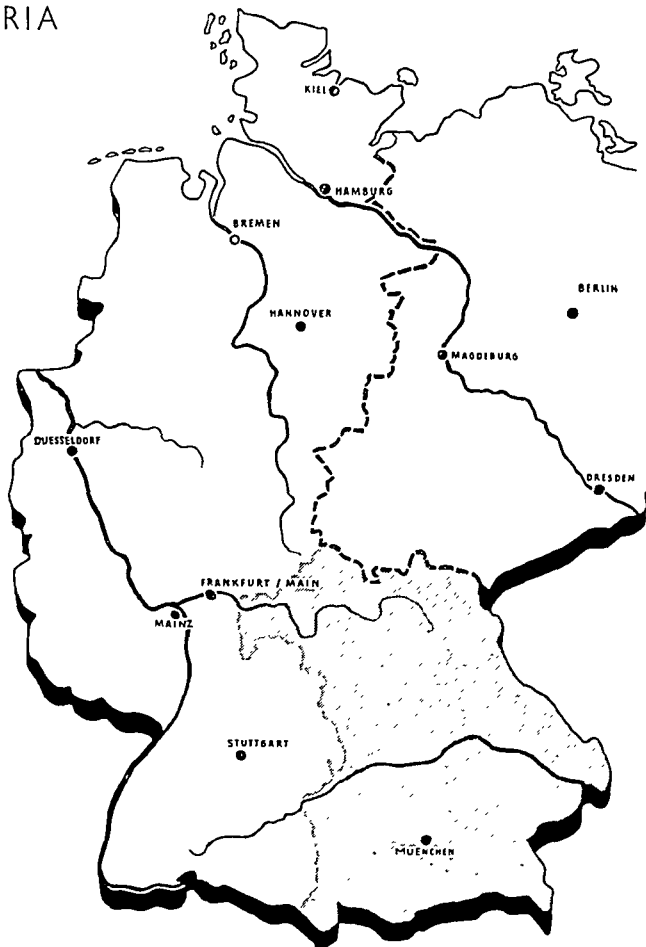
Northrhine-Westphalia is watching the development of the Coal and Steel Community with particular interest. Practically the whole of Germany's coal and steel is concentrated in the Land. And Germany alone supplies 51 per cent of the hard coal and 37 per cent of the crude steel production of the Community. The State of Northrhine-Westphalia contributes about 40 per cent of the levy with which the Coal and Steel Community finances its operations.

Northrhine-Westphalia is, in fact, not only an important member state of the German Federal Republic but also a notable cornerstone of a United Europe.

## BAVARIA

The Free State of Bavaria occupies a special place among the states, races, and regions in the Federal Republic of Germany. It covers an area of 27,112 square miles and 1,886,000 of its population of 9,126,000 are expellees. Until 1945, the administrative district of the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine belonged to Bavaria. Order No. 57 of the French Commander in Chief, of August 30, 1946, made this region a part of the newly-formed State of Rhineland-Palatinate. According to Article 29 of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic, the inhabitants of the Palatinate are to have an opportunity of deciding whether they wish to remain members of the new state or return to their former allegiance. Bavaria is the oldest state in Germany. Since the days of the Great Migration, there has always been a political community of this name, in spite of territorial, organizational, and constitutional changes in the course of the centuries.

Great cultural values are bound up with the name of Bavaria. Rulers who were patrons of the arts and had their residences in Munich furthered the development of the capital until it became a center of scientific, literary, and artistic activities in Germany. The world-famous Bavarian churches bear witness to the people's serene and joyous faith. Their inclination towards the traditional and long-established, which manifests itself as conservatism in politics, made Bavaria the shield of the Catholic faith in the German-speaking world during



were left on the passages and staircase. I found him on the bed still bleeding, his shirt deluged with blood, and the coloured drapery, above the pillow, sprinkled with blood from a wounded artery, which puts on an appearance that cannot be mistaken by those who have seen it. This could not have happened had not the head been lying on the pillow when it was wounded. The night ribbon, which was wadded, the cap, scalp, and skull were obliquely divided, so that the pulsation of the arteries of the brain were distinguished. While dressing this and the other wounds, report was brought that Sellis was wounded, if not murdered. His Royal Highness desired me to go to him, as I had declared his Royal Highness out of immediate danger. A second report came, that Sellis was dead. I went to his apartment, found the body lying on his side on the bed, without his coat and neckcloth, the throat cut so effectually that he could not have survived above a minute or two. The length and direction of the wound were such as left no doubt of its being given by his own hand. Any struggle would have made it irregular. He had not even changed his position; his hands lay as they do in a person who has fainted; they had no marks of violence upon them; his coat hung upon a chair, out of the reach of blood from the bed; the sleeve, from the shoulder to the wrist, was sprinkled with blood, quite dry, evidently from a wounded artery; and from such kind of sprink-



cut." We do not mean to say that Mr. Place's knowledge of this matter is to be put in competition with that of Sir Everard Home; but Mr. Place urged this circumstance to us as confirmatory of Sellis having murdered himself. It is, therefore, very extraordinary that Sir Everard Home did not set the talented foreman right upon this all-important point, as it might have been the means of producing a widely different verdict. With regard to "the hands having no marks of violence upon them," we can only say that such an account is contrary to the report of other persons who saw them as well as Mr. Home; for both his hands and wrists bore evident marks of violence. The desire which Sir Everard manifests, in this account, to bring proof against Sellis for an attempt to assassinate his master has more of zeal than prudence in it; for, in speaking of the blood said to be found upon Sellis's coat, the learned doctor asserts it to be "just such kind of sprinkling the arm of the assassin of the duke could not escape." How ridiculous must such an observation as this appear to any man, possessed of common understanding! Sellis was reported to have used a sword in this pretended attempt upon his master's life, the length of which and the position of the duke would render it next to impossible for any blood of the duke's to reach him. The worthy knight further says, when speaking of the matters in Sellis's room, "his coat hung upon a chair, out

After a checkered history, the Bavarian dukedom fell, in 1180, to the Wittelsbach dynasty. From then onwards, its fortunes were inextricably linked with the fate of the House of Wittelsbach. There were many political and military setbacks, which brought about division of the land and loss of political power. This constant parcelling of the land did not cease until 1506, with the Law of Primogeniture. From then on, Bavarian prestige and influence in the politics of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation increased. Bavaria's greatest ruler, Maximilian I (1598—1651), the Elector, survived all the statesmen, war lords, and Princes of the Church, who had decided Europe's fate at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. He created a state organized and administered along modern lines, in which the virtues of discipline, order, work, and piety, were upheld. He insisted on rigorous adherence to the Catholic faith. He reduced the crushing burden of debt which war and pestilence had laid on the country. To his successors he left a well-ordered state which, without being one of the Great Powers, could yet hold its head high in their company. Maximilian's political wisdom and statesman-like foresight were not shared by his successors to an extent sufficient to ensure the maintenance and increase of Bavarian influence.

After the storms of the Thirty Years' War, there opened in Bavaria an age of art, literature, and science. There is not space enough to enumerate the world-famous baroque monuments which year after year are the astonishment and delight of uncounted visitors.

During Napoleon's time, Bavaria underwent territorial aggrandizement which was confirmed by the Congress of Vienna. From that time onwards, Bavarians, Franks, Swabians, and Palatines were united in Bavaria under the Wittelsbach banner.

In the 19th century, Bavaria played its part in the general cultural and economic development of Western Europe. Munich became a center of German culture distinguished by the presence of scholars, artists, writers, and composers. This golden age was promoted by the Bavarian kings, Ludwig I (1825—1848), Maximilian II (1848—1864), and Ludwig II (1864—1886). King Ludwig II, known the world over because of his tragic end in Lake Starnberg, built magnificent castles and citadels in the most beautiful country sites: Linderhof near Oberammergau, Neuschwanstein near Fuessen, Herrenchiemsee on the island of that name in the Chiemsee. But the successor of the tragic king, Luitpold, the Prince Regent (1886—1912), also helped to further the cultural and economic development of the country down to the eve of the first World War. Thomas Mann, who for a long time lived in Munich, describes the artistic riches of the Bavarian capital at the turn of the century in these words: "Art flourishes, art is supreme, art holds out its rose-wreathed scepter over the city and smiles... Munich shines." In the Schwabing quarter of the

city, artists, writers, and composers settled, developed their way of life, and provided for their own entertainment in their own light-hearted manner. Bavaria became a member of Bismarck's German Empire in 1870. Under the Weimar Constitution of August 11, 1919, it lost the special rights and privileges granted in 1870. With the accession to power of National Socialism, Bavaria was deprived of its character as a state, which it had jealously guarded through the centuries. But the consciousness of being a well-defined political unit could not be taken away. In April and May 1945, the country was occupied by troops of the American 8th Army. The intention of the remnant of Hitler's fanatical followers to defend their hopeless cause in the fortified heights of the Bavarian mountains was fortunately not put into execution. Thus many villages and towns, particularly in the districts south of the Danube, were saved from destruction. In the summer of 1946, a constituent assembly was convened at Munich with the sanction of the United States Military Government to draft a new constitution. It lays down the basis of the Bavarian state.

"Bavaria is a free state (Art. 1). Bavaria is a people's state. Political power is vested in the people. The people exercise their power by means of elections and plebiscites. Decisions are taken by a majority (Art. 2). The Bavarian state is based on the rule of law and the maintenance of cultural and social values. It serves the common weal (Art. 3)." Up to the present, Bavaria has always been regarded as the classic land of the peasant. The social structure of the population no longer corresponds to that label. The majority of the Bavarian people are engaged in industry, commerce, and the manual trades. Nevertheless, agriculture occupies a preferential place in the economy, but, alongside it, industry is growing apace, concentrated in various well-defined districts. Nuremberg leads here, followed by Augsburg, with its notable textile and china industry. Industrial employment is also on the increase in Munich, the population of which is now approaching the 900,000 mark. Bavaria is undergoing a structural change from an agricultural to an industrial state. Local conditions favor this development, now that water power has been harnessed. Without this source of energy, the development of Bavarian industry would have been unthinkable. Thanks to it, Bavaria has now secured an important place for herself in the framework of the west German economy, occupying a leading position in the Federal Republic in some branches of production, particularly in the china and ball-bearing industries, and in the manufacture of calcium carbide, calcium cyanamide, and aluminum. In the electrical industry, employment has been doubled since 1936. The optical and precision engineering industry represents more than a quarter of total west German production in this field, with particular emphasis on export

## CHAPTER X.

Deposition — A Bloody Sword — "A Horrific Scene" — The Jury Dissatisfied — "(Signed) Jew" — A Lawyer-like Proceeding — The Deponent Speaks — A Jumble of Words — An Illegal Inquest — Affidavits from Interested Persons — Impartial Information — A King Childish and Blind — The Prince Is Regent — A Disgraced Duke as Commander-in-Chief.

**H**AVING now carefully and dispassionately examined all the evidence brought forward to prove Sellis an assassin and a suicide, we proceed to lay before our readers a few particulars tending to confirm an opposite opinion.

Mr. Jew, then in the household of the duke, and who probably is now alive (information of which fact might be ascertained by application to the King of Belgium) was inclined to give his deposition upon this subject, in the following terms, alleging, as his reason, the very severe pangs of conscience he endured, through the secrecy he had manifested upon this most serious affair.

### DEPOSITION.

"I was in the duke's household in May, 1810 and on the evening of the 31st I attended the Royal Highness to the opera; this was the eve



Dr. Gebhard Müller, Minister President of Baden-Wuerttemberg

ments and buildings of every period. There are the romanesque monasteries and churches of Maulbronn, Ellwangen, Alpirsbach, and Reichenau; the Gothic cathedrals of Freiburg, Constance, Ulm and Esslingen; the Renaissance castles of Heidelberg, Wertheim, Weikersheim and Heiligenberg; finally (and again only a few examples are mentioned at random), there are the baroque churches, monasteries and palaces at Birnau, Weingarten, Schussenried, Ochsenhausen, Marchtal, Zwiefalten, Neresheim, Schoental, Wallduern, Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, Bartenstein, Mannheim, Bruchsal, Karlsruhe, Rastatt and Wurzach.

This geographical and cultural background gives its character to an unusually varied countryside. It embraces the rugged charm of the Swabian Alps, the idyllic magic of the Neckar valley, the somber grandeur of the Black Forest, the gracious hills of Upper Swabia, the sun-drenched frontier valley of the upper Rhine and, in the south, the vast expanse of the waters of the Lake of Constance.

The regions of Baden and Wuerttemberg, fused into a single state early in 1952, are linked by long periods of a common history. In the days of Imperial Rome, great parts of Wuerttemberg and Baden jointly formed what was called the "Dekumatland" (*agri decumates*) lying between the Upper Rhine, the Danube and the *limes*. The Romans occupied this territory for three centuries before being expelled in 260 A. D. by the Alamanni.

The people of Southwest Germany are descended from the tribes of the Franks and the Alamanni. This gives them a common heritage of character, conception of life, and cultural development. At the height of the Middle Ages, Southwest Germany was a political entity — the Dukedom of Swabia — ruled for more than two hundred years by the ducal and imperial house of Hohenstaufen.

By the end of the fourteenth century, Wuerttemberg had become an independent political entity; at first a county, later a dukedom. The treaty of Muenzingen in 1482 made the area indivisible in perpetuity. One of the most important stages in the political development of southwestern Germany was the conclusion of the treaty of Tuebingen in 1514. Under the definition of "Rights and Freedoms of the Territory", this treaty provided a constitution showing certain democratic traits and guaranteed universal human rights, centuries before any other state on the European mainland. Two hundred years later, the British Prime Minister, Charles James Fox, declared that Europe possessed only two constitutions worthy of the name: that of Great Britain and that of Wuerttemberg. After the troubles of the Thirty Years' War, the treaties of Westphalia (1648) restored Wuerttemberg to its former position. In 1806, the territory became a kingdom. Since then, for almost a century and a half, its frontiers have not changed.

The historic development of Baden was more varied. It was frontier territory and, as such, subjected to many rulers and to many confusing partitions until it was united, in 1806, in the Grand Duchy of Baden. One important basic characteristic of the Franks and the Alamanni, however, is as evident in the history of Baden as in that of Wuerttemberg: the sturdy self-assurance of the independent middle classes. In August 1818, a constitution was introduced in Baden which was acclaimed as extraordinarily progressive not only in Germany but throughout Europe. In its awareness of political realities, this constitution, based on liberal and democratic principles, was half a century in advance of those of other German states. About forty years later, in 1860, Grand Duke Frederic I of Baden reaffirmed these principles in his important "Easter Declaration". It made him the acknowledged representative of liberal thought among German rulers.

As a consequence of this tradition of political maturity among the people of southwestern Germany, the dynastic abdications which followed the 1918 revolution were effected, both in Wuerttemberg and in Baden, in a conciliatory spirit. The constitution of the Weimar Republic (1919—1933) did not significantly inhibit the independent life of the southwest German states.

Its tendency to centralize the powers of government did, however, diminish the influence which these states could exert on the center of affairs: an influence which, in many previous periods of history,



“During this period, which was nearly two hours, neither Neale nor Sellis had been in the duke’s room, which appeared to me a very unaccountable circumstance. At length, when all the bustle of dressing the wounds (which were very inconsiderable) was over, and the room arranged, the duke said, ‘Call Sellis!’ I went to Sellis’s door, and, upon opening it, the most horrific scene presented itself: Sellis was lying perfectly straight in the bed, the head raised up against the head-board, and nearly severed from the body; his hands were lying quite straight on each side of him, and upon examination I saw him weltering in blood, it having covered the under part of the body. He had on his shirt, his waistcoat, and his stockings; the inside of his hands were perfectly clean, but on the outside were smears of blood. His watch was hanging up over his head, wound up. His coat was carefully folded inside out, and laid over the back of a chair. A razor, covered with blood, was lying at a distance from his body, but too far off to have been used by himself, or to have been thrown there by him in such a mutilated condition, as it was very apparent death must have been immediate after such an act.

“The wash-basin was in the stand, but was half full of bloody water. Upon examining Sellis’s cravat, it was found to be cut. The padding which he usually wore was covered with silk and quilted; but, what was most remarkable, both the padding



necessarily have been a most material witness. The second jury returned a verdict against Sellis, and his body was immediately put into a shell, and conveyed away a certain distance for interment. The duke was privately removed from St. James's Palace to Carlton House, where his Royal Highness manifested an impatience of manner, and a perturbed state of mind, evidently arising from a conscience ill at ease. But, in a short time, he appeared to recover his usual spirits, and, being hurt but in a very trifling degree, he went out daily in a sedan-chair to Lord Ellenborough's and Sir William Phipps's, although the daily journals were lamenting his very bad state of health, and also enlarging, with a considerable expression of sorrow, upon the magnitude of his wounds, and the fears entertained for his recovery."

The further deposition of this attendant is of an important character, and claims particular consideration. He says :

"I was applied to by some noblemen shortly after this dreadful business, and very strongly did they solicit me to make a full disclosure of all the improper transactions to which I might have been made a party upon this solemn subject. I declined many times, but at length conceded, under a binding engagement that I should not be left destitute of comforts or abridged of my liberty ; and, under

successful efforts were made to recapture foreign markets. In 1952, Baden-Wuerttemberg exported goods to the value of about 2,300 million DM, being the second most important exporter among the states of the Federal Republic, in addition to being the second most important state industrially. It is particularly noteworthy that 94 per cent of the value of exports was made up of finished industrial products. The average proportion of finished products for the whole of the Federal Republic was only about 75 per cent.

At the end of 1952, there were about 151,000 artisan establishments in Baden-Wuerttemberg. According to the place-of-work census of 1950, more than 520,000 people were employed in the various trades, a greater proportion of the total population than in any other Land of the Federal Republic.

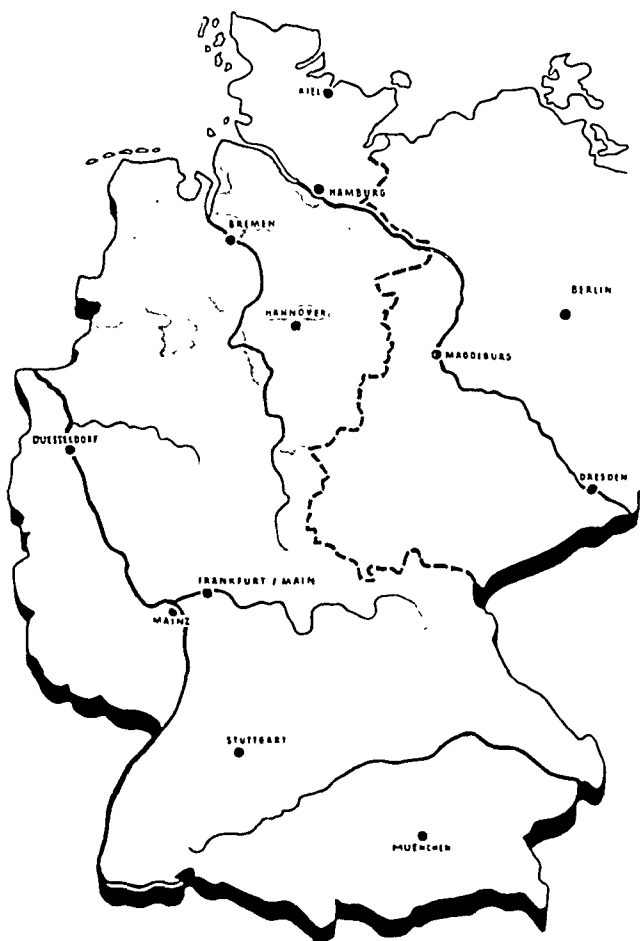
Another significant factor in the economy of Baden-Wuerttemberg which should be mentioned is the tourist trade. The Black Forest and the Lake of Constance provide the main attraction for tourists, but visitors also patronize a host of other places

of interest and relaxation scattered across the length and breadth of Southwest Germany. During the summer of 1952, Baden-Wuerttemberg provided 8.5 million overnight lodgings, making it the most frequented tourist district in the Federal Republic after Bavaria. During the same period, about 400 tourist centers reported a total of 662,000 foreign visitors who stayed the night: one-fifth of the total for the whole Federal Republic. Stuttgart, Baden-Baden, and Heidelberg had the largest number of visitors from abroad, but other tourist resorts, too, had many foreign visitors.

It is impossible to present a complete picture of the economic progress of Land Baden-Wuerttemberg in so few pages, but one thing that should emerge from these brief remarks is the fact that the economic structure of Southwest Germany is not only characteristic and highly developed, but also endowed with greater-than-average solidity. The economic stability of these regions has proved itself repeatedly in the past and makes Baden-Wuerttemberg a particularly valuable member of the Federal Republic.

## LOWER SAXONY

Lower Saxony, formed on November 1, 1946 by the linking of the former Province of Hanover with the Laender Brunswick, Oldenburg and



Schaumburg-Lippe, stretches from the extensive pine forests of the Harz over roughly 18,226 square miles to the sea-swept North Sea Islands of East Frisia. It has a population of about 6.7 million.

From the economic point of view, Lower Saxony consists primarily of agricultural land, and its farming has developed quite satisfactorily during the last few years. Economic advisory councils (*Wirtschaftsberatung*) and agricultural research and technical colleges have contributed substantially to this state of affairs. Mechanization has progressed sharply (number of tractors in 1945 — 11,500; in 1952 — 35,700). Between 1949 and 1952, live-stock figures rose by nearly 9% for cattle and 40% for pigs. The annual milk yield per cow today is considerably above the average for the Federal Republic.

Lower Saxony is widely renowned for the breeding of excellent horses. This activity is based on three state stud farms at Celle, Osnabrueck, and Harzburg, with 112 state service centers. The horse shows in Celle and Osnabrueck are high spots among the events organized by horse breeders.

By reason of its well-developed agriculture, Lower Saxony is in a position not only to supply its own requirements but also to produce for the adjoining Laender. It exports agricultural produce to an annual value of about 80 million DM. Particularly worth mentioning are the exports of seeds. The products of Lower Saxon stud farms are also once more in demand abroad.

Yet the agricultural productive capacity of Lower Saxony is by no means exhausted. A great reserve of strength lies in pasture land, the yield of which could still be considerably increased. Extensive moor and heath lands await exploitation. In the Emsland

alone there is still cultivable or half-cultivated soil with an area of over 280,000 acres.

Forestry suffered heavily during the war and in the post-war period. Through indiscriminate felling on the part of the occupation forces, the proportion of deforested area rose to 18 per cent. By systematic reafforestation this was again reduced to 3 per cent in the state forests.

Fishing in coastal waters and on the high seas, which had completely collapsed after the war, still has to contend with considerable difficulties. However, landings have once more been substantially increased, thanks to certain measures, notably the increase of the fishing fleet. Lower Saxony contributes 30 per cent of the total catch landed (638,000 tons in 1952) in the Federal Republic.

Some quite noteworthy industrial and commercial centers are also to be found in Lower Saxony, and, today, many industrial products of the Land once more enjoy world renown. There are tires from the Continental Works, tractors and delivery trucks of the Hannoversche Maschinenbau AG. (Hanomag), fountain pens from the Pelikan Works of Günther Wagner, biscuits made by Bahlsen, chocolates made by Sprengel — all in Hanover; there are also the heavy lorries of the Büssing-Works in Brunswick, granary and mill installations of Miag in the same city, optical and photographic products from Goettingen and Brunswick, textiles from Nordhorn, and the products of the linoleum works, the jute spinning industry, and the Olympia typewriter works in the Oldenburg district. But above all, it is the People's Car (Volkswagen), made in Wolfsburg, which has won fame abroad. The factories and industrial installations of the former Reichswerke at Watenstedt-Salzgitter, which suffered particularly through war and dismantling, are in the process of reconstruction. The iron industry is also represented by the Ilseder and Georgsmarien foundries. Oil is found in comparatively large quantities, especially in the Bentheim-Lingen and the Nienburg-Celle-Gifhorn districts.

How trade and industry have developed in Lower Saxony in recent years is shown by the following figures: Employment rose from 1.8 million on September 30, 1949 to 1.94 million on September 30, 1952. By 1951, the index of industrial production (monthly average for 1949 = 100) had risen to 178, and exports from 231 million DM to over a billion DM. The principal customers are the Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, the United States of America, Belgium, Switzerland and Denmark.

In the realm of trade and industry, the city of Hanover has acquired particular importance in recent years by reason of its German Industries Fair. In the technical field in particular, this international event enjoys the ever-increasing support of exhibitors and buyers from Germany and abroad. By virtue of its role as an intermediary in foreign trade, the Fair contributes in an especially effective



*Hinrich Wilhelm Kopf, Minister President of Lower Saxony*

manner to the fostering and development of international relations.

When assessing this economic recovery, one must not lose sight of the fact that Lower Saxony was very much handicapped in its development by war-time and post-war circumstances. Above all, the situation along the border created difficulties. Millions of expellees and refugees flocked across the 350-mile frontier with the Soviet Zone. Among the 6.7 million inhabitants of Lower Saxony, there are more than 2 million expellees and refugees. Of these, 800,000 have so far been re-integrated into the economy. Measured against the total, this is many too few, but viewed against the difficulties which stood and still stand in the way of this integration, it becomes a considerable achievement.

A further heavy burden which has to be borne by the Land is the cost of protecting its 187 miles of coastline against the raging waters of the North Sea. This task, which includes the reclamation of new land from the ocean, requires astronomic resources. The upkeep of innumerable dikes in areas where rivers are liable to flooding also constitutes a heavy strain. In addition to all this, extensive moors and other uncultivated areas are waiting to be brought under the plow, a measure most desirable in view of the over-population of Lower Saxony, but which the state cannot accomplish unaided.

All this gives but a small and incomplete insight into the problems and troubles of Lower Saxony. It also gives a glimpse into what has already been achieved. These are, after all, successes which would still have appeared almost impossible of accomplishment in 1945. They are due to the dogged and tena-

cious work of reconstruction by the population, excellent co-operation on the part of all authorities concerned, and in great measure — which is gratefully acknowledged here — to the help of the Federal Republic and foreign countries, in particular to the assistance given under the Marshall Plan.

## HESSE

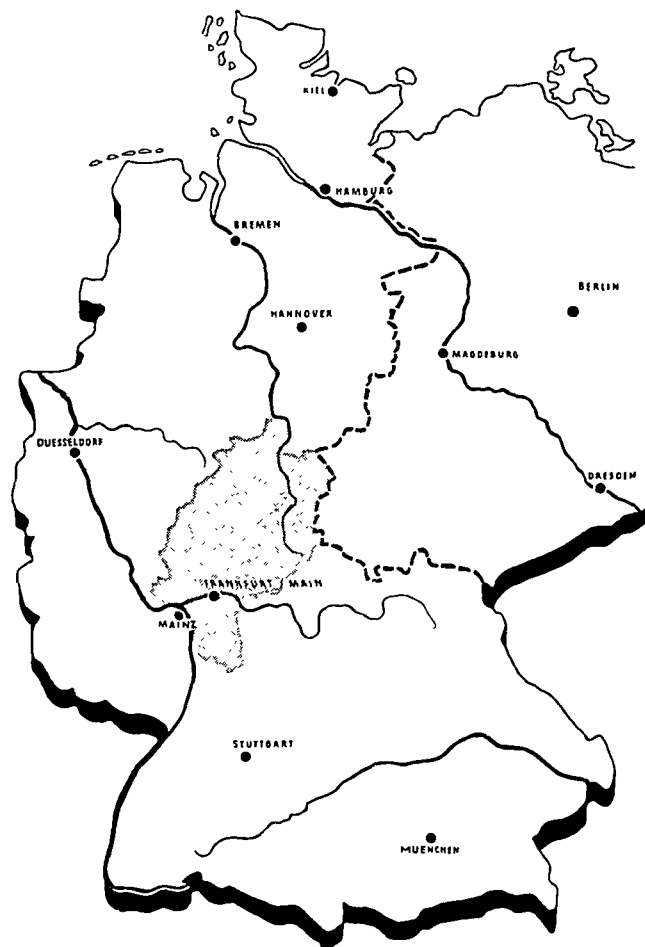
Lying between the middle reaches of the Weser and the Neckar, Land Hesse is the heart of the Federal German Republic. It has common frontiers with Lower Saxony, Northrhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Bavaria and the Soviet Zone of Germany. Fruitful lowland plains alternate with wooded heights, agricultural districts with vast concentrations of industry, rich plow land with poor soil, great teeming cities with small settlements and isolated farms. It is thus no wonder that this land, with its multiformity and its happy mixture of industry and agriculture, is called the epitome of the Federal Republic. Even in the development of its economy and the composition of its population, it corresponds to the average of economic life in Western Germany.

Hesse has a total area of 8,151 square miles, and 4,468,025 inhabitants, as of September 1953. This means that, on an average, roughly 540 persons are living on each square mile of soil. These people are distributed over the thickly-populated industrial areas centered on Frankfurt, Hanau, Offenbach and Kassel, and also the sparsely-peopled districts of North and Middle Hesse and the parishes of the Hessian Odenwald. It may be interesting to compare Belgium, which is one of the most densely-populated countries in the world. With its 11,775 square miles, the Kingdom of Belgium is nearly a third larger than Land Hesse, but with 8.6 million inhabitants, it has almost twice the number of people.

In its present form, Hesse owes its origin to an instruction of the United States Military Government, dated September 1945. At that time, Land "Gross-Hessen" was formed by joining former Hessian and Prussian provinces together, its name being altered to "Hesse" by the constitution of December 1, 1946. Its territory was formed out of the former Province Kurhessen, which became the administrative district of Kassel, the former Province of Nassau (less the rural districts, Ober-Westerwald, Unter-Westerwald, Unterlahn and St. Goarshausen), as the administrative district of Wiesbaden, and parts of the former "Volksstaat" Hessen (People's State of Hesse), Starkenburg Province, Oberhesse Province and those parts of the Province of Rheinhessen east of the Rhine, as the administrative district of Darmstadt. Those portions of the former Province of Nassau and of the former Volksstaat Hessen which lay in the French Occupation Zone went to Land Rhineland-Palatinate, the Hessian

enclave, Bad Wimpfen, was put under the administration of Land Baden-Wuerttemberg and the rural districts in the Westerwald, Ober-Westerwald, Unter-Westerwald, as well as Unterlahn and St. Goarshausen, also became a part of Rhineland-Palatinate.

But it was not only these territorial adjustments, necessitated by the drawing of the frontiers of the French and U. S. Zones, which presented new and great tasks. The reorganization of administration in Hesse after 1945 was less difficult than the revival of industry, trade and commerce. 18 per cent of the dwelling space existing in 1939 had been destroyed by the war, while 700,000 people (27 per cent of the total population) had fled from the cities. Houses, schools, highways, bridges, water supply lines and factories had to be rebuilt. The extent to which these tasks have been completed



sary to be examined into and ascertained in any way touching the death of the said Joseph Sellis And this deponent further saith that he locked the doors of the apartment in which the body of the said Joseph Sellis was found and did not permit the same to be inspected nor the state and position of the said body to be disturbed, from the first discovery of such body in the aforesaid apartment until the same was inspected by the said jury And this deponent further saith that on the conclusion of the investigation the said jury immediately and unanimously returned a verdict that the said Joseph Sellis voluntarily and feloniously as a *felo de se* murdered himself And this deponent further saith that the proceedings upon the said inquest were in all respects regular except as to the jury not consisting of the yeoman officers of the king's household and that such proceedings were themselves conducted in the most fair open and impartial manner and that the verdict so found by the jury as aforesaid was a just true and honest verdict and that there is not the smallest ground for supposing or alleging anything to the contrary thereof <sup>1</sup>

“SAM<sup>L</sup>. THOS. ADAMS.

“*Sworn in Court the eighteenth  
day of April 1832 — By the Court.*”

<sup>1</sup> Whatever our readers may think of this jumble of words, we assure them it is *verbatim* from the original affidavit, which is without points, as lawyers consider such matters unnecessary.

may be seen from the single example of the city of Frankfort, which, in 1939, shortly before the war, had 553,000 inhabitants. In 1950 — five years after the end of the war — there were already 524,000 persons living in the city, and, at the turn of the year 1953/54, Frankfort was able to announce with pride the birth of its 600,000th citizen. Thus the city today has nearly 50,000 people more than at the beginning of the war, despite the great damage inflicted during hostilities.

Newly-settled industries called into life by refugee specialists from the German eastern territories have also done much to modify the picture of Hessian economy. Thus the glassware industry from Gablitz and the music instrument and toy industries of the Sudetenland found an equally warm welcome in this state. Spinning mills and finishing works which were formerly located east of the Elbe took advantage of the favorable transport facilities and the natural energies offered by Hesse. Thus the Leipzig fur trade fair migrated to Frankfort and constituted a further force of attraction for the city, which, since the Middle Ages, has maintained its reputation as a leading German trade fair center. Meanwhile, in Offenbach, the celebrated leather goods fair has long been the meeting-place of specialists in this branch from all countries in the world.

Lower and Upper Hesse are farming districts, rich in forests, in which cattle-breeding is successfully carried on. In the west and south of the Land there are warm valleys where wheat, vegetables and the vine are cultivated. From the depths of this earth, important minerals are extracted, such, for example, as iron in the Dill and Lahn area, and brown coal, basalt, potter's clay and potassium salts in the Taunus Forest and along the Lahn. 25 different minerals are mined in Hesse, and of these, copper ore, oil shale and bauxite do not occur anywhere else in the Federal territory. Deposits of exploitable brown coal are reckoned at 3 million tons and are worked in 16 pits in the low ground in the district of Kassel in Lower Hesse. Their counterpart in the Lahn-Dill area is furnished by the 17 iron ore pits which produce 960,000 tons of usable mineral annually.

The capital of this multiform and lively state is Wiesbaden, situated at the ideal center of the old European continent. The favorable geographical position of the city, its wealth of healing waters, and the receptive attitude of its citizens to all the arts of life, had made Wiesbaden famous long before it became the seat of government. Today the capital of Hesse has 224,000 inhabitants and has thus become the second most considerable city in the Land, without its reputation as a spa having had to suffer from this development.

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was not for the purpose of obtaining an impartial trial. The affidavit showed that Mr. Adams had flown in the face of the act of Parliament, and the statement in the 'Authentic Records,' that there had been a second inquest, was corroborated by that affidavit. Mr. Adams had referred to the act of Parliament, as being that of the 23d of Henry VIII., whereas it was that of the 33d of Henry VIII.; that was no doubt a trifling circumstance, but it tended to show the manner in which Mr. Adams performed the duties of his office. Mr. Adams had stated that summonses had been drawn up for summoning two juries, but those for summoning the first were not used; but the reason he gave was most unsatisfactory. He had no right to send to Mr. Place, and Mr. Place had no right to act as coroner; and he (Mr. Wakefield) submitted that the court ought to require an affidavit from Mr. Place to corroborate what Mr. Adams had stated. He believed it would not be difficult to show that the inquest might be quashed, as being illegal; and it certainly might have been quashed if Sellis had had any goods, which would have been subject to an extent at the suit of the Crown. At all events, Mr. Adams might have been prosecuted for a breach of duty. There was another point which, though of a trifling nature, he would take the liberty of adverting to, in order to show that the inquest was illegal. By the 28 Henry VIII. c. 12, the jury in cases of this de-

to Kassel, the machine construction city in the north of Hesse. At the very doors of Frankfurt is Hoechst, which has developed from a small industrious trading town to the seat of important chemical plants. But also at the very doors of the city lies the Taunus Forest, which Goethe still called "Die Hoehe" — that charming countryside, so favored by the weather gods, in which so many well-known spas are situated.

In the middle of the Taunus Forest is the "Grosse Feldberg" (2882 feet high) already bare at this height save for a little undergrowth at the top. There is only one higher mountain in Hesse: the "Wasserkuppe" in the Rhoen mountains (3111 feet high), from which a wide view may be obtained over the countryside of Thuringia and Hesse. Maximum altitudes in the Rothaargebirge, Vogelsberg, Meissner, Kellerwald, Kaufunger Forest, Odenwald and Spessart vary from 1857 to 2761 feet. These mountains are surrounded by varied countryside, rich in forests, through which the Rhine, the Main, the Lahn, the Neckar, the Weser, the Fulda and the Werra flow — sometimes over great distances — across Hesse territory.

Many are the medicinal bathing resorts which annually attract thousands of persons in search of rest

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The perennial healing force of these spas and the beauty of the landscape, whether it be the vine-clad slopes of the Rheingau or the quiet green woods and pine forests of North and Middle Hesse, or, indeed, the paradise of fruit orchards in the northern part of the Odenwald, have made of Hesse a much visited tourist and hiker's land.

Also among the deepest impressions left by a journey through the Land of Hesse is the contact with German history as it has left its traces here, for instance, in the old cathedral of the episcopal city of Fulda, or the rebuilt Paul's Church in Frankfurt, which has been a symbol of a united and democratic Germany since the First German National Assembly was convened there in the fateful years 1848 and 1849.

## SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

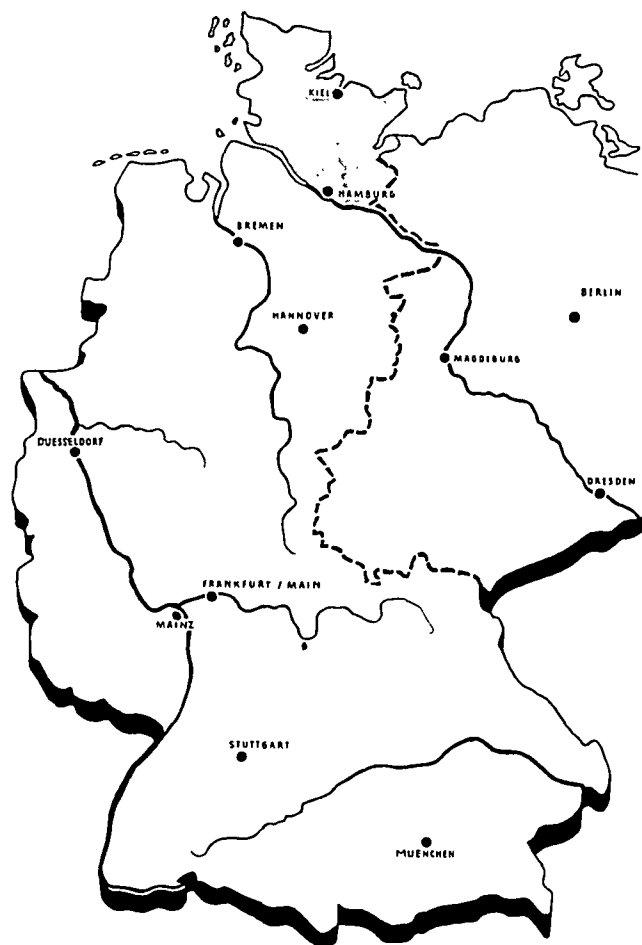
Schleswig-Holstein is the northernmost Land of the Federal Republic. Its area is 6,044 square miles, and it has a population of 2,425,000, of which one million are expellees and refugees.

The northern border runs along the German-Danish frontier as determined by the plebiscite of 1920. In the west, the Land is washed by the North Sea, while the Baltic and the frontier of the Russian Zone of Occupation form its eastern border. In the south, it is contiguous with the territory of the city state of Hamburg. It was formerly a province of Prussia but has been an autonomous Land since 1947. The seat of government is Kiel.

Lying off the North Sea coast are the islands of Sylt, Föhr, and Amrum, and the North Frisian islands of Halligen, which, like Heligoland, also belong to Schleswig-Holstein. The chief rivers are the Schlei and Eider in the north, and the Stoer, Pinnau and Trave in the south, the most important canals, the 61-mile long Nordostseekanal (Kiel Canal) and the Elbe-Trave-Kanal (42 miles long). There are four natural bays: the Flensburger Foerde, the Schleibucht, the Eckernfoerder Bucht, and the Kieler Foerde.

The Land is divided into 4 urban districts and 17 rural districts. The largest towns are Kiel and Luebeck, each with approximately 250,000 inhabitants, Flensburg with 110,000, and Neumuenster with 75,000.

Agriculture provides one of the main sources of income of the population. Corn-growing and cattle-



may be seen from the single example of the city of Frankfort, which, in 1939, shortly before the war, had 553,000 inhabitants. In 1950 — five years after the end of the war — there were already 524,000 persons living in the city, and, at the turn of the year 1953/54, Frankfort was able to announce with pride the birth of its 600,000th citizen. Thus the city today has nearly 50,000 people more than at the beginning of the war, despite the great damage inflicted during hostilities.

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conduct. Whoever thought of requiring them to criminate themselves? But affidavits from interested persons are not worth much. The notorious Bishop of Clogher, for instance, exculpated himself in a criminal information by an affidavit, and the result was, the man who published the truth of that wretch groaned in a jail! Sir Charles, therefore, had no occasion to boast of the Duke of Cumberland's charitable mode of proceeding against us by criminal information, instead of commencing an *ex-officio* action; for in neither of these modes of procedure does the truth or falsehood of the charge form an object of consideration. We are, therefore, prevented by the Duke of Cumberland and his adherents from proving the truth of the statements we made in "The Authentic Records" in a court of law; but where resides the power that shall rob us of the glorious liberty of the press? We are the strenuous advocates of the right to promulgate truth, — of the right to scrutinise public actions and public men, — of the right to expose vice, and castigate mischievous follies, even though they may be found in a palace. The free exercise of this invaluable privilege should always be conceded to the historian, or where will posterity look for impartial information? In this character only did we publish what we believed, and still believe, to be the truth in our former work of "The Authentic Records," and which we have considerably enlarged upon in our present undertaking, merely

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## SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

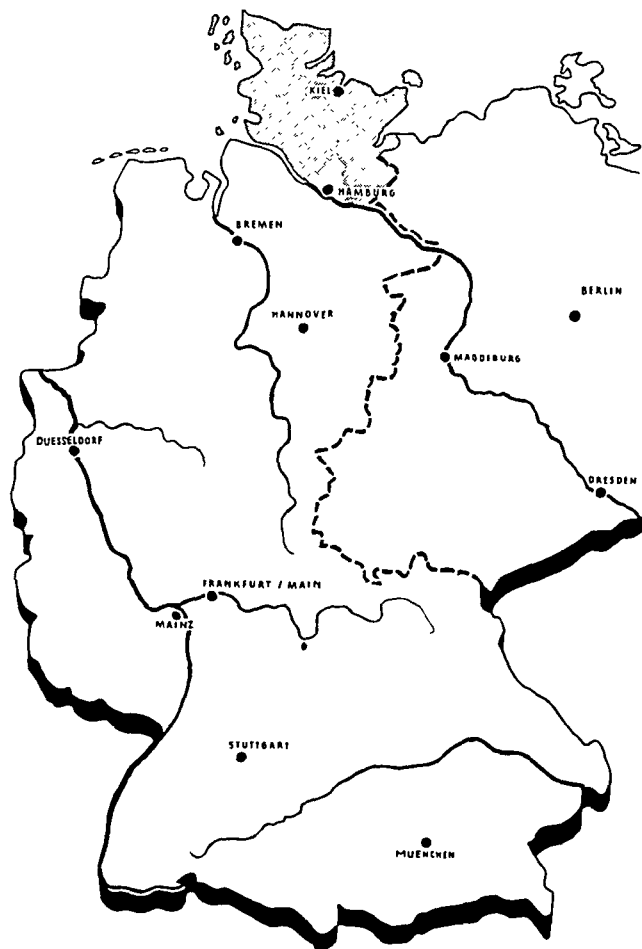
Schleswig-Holstein is the northernmost Land of the Federal Republic. Its area is 6,044 square miles, and it has a population of 2,425,000, of which one million are expellees and refugees.

The northern border runs along the German-Danish frontier as determined by the plebiscite of 1920. In the west, the Land is washed by the North Sea, while the Baltic and the frontier of the Russian Zone of Occupation form its eastern border. In the south, it is contiguous with the territory of the city state of Hamburg. It was formerly a province of Prussia but has been an autonomous Land since 1947. The seat of government is Kiel.

Lying off the North Sea coast are the islands of Sylt, Foehr, and Amrum, and the North Frisian islands of Halligen, which, like Heligoland, also belong to Schleswig-Holstein. The chief rivers are the Schlei and Eider in the north, and the Stoer, Pinnau and Trave in the south, the most important canals, the 61-mile long Nordostseekanal (Kiel Canal) and the Elbe-Trave-Kanal (42 miles long). There are four natural bays: the Flensburger Foerde, the Schleibucht, the Eckernfoerder Bucht, and the Kieler Foerde.

The Land is divided into 4 urban districts and 17 rural districts. The largest towns are Kiel and Luebeck, each with approximately 250,000 inhabitants, Flensburg with 110,000, and Neumuenster with 75,000.

Agriculture provides one of the main sources of income of the population. Corn-growing and cattle-



*Charlotte Augusta, Princess of Wales*

Photo-etching from the engraving by H. Meyer

to Kassel, the machine construction city in the north of Hesse. At the very doors of Frankfurt is Hoechst, which has developed from a small industrious trading town to the seat of important chemical plants. But also at the very doors of the city lies the Taunus Forest, which Goethe still called "Die Hoehe" — that charming countryside, so favored by the weather gods, in which so many well-known spas are situated.

In the middle of the Taunus Forest is the "Grosse Feldberg" (2882 feet high) already bare at this height save for a little undergrowth at the top. There is only one higher mountain in Hesse: the "Wasserkuppe" in the Rhoen mountains (3111 feet high), from which a wide view may be obtained over the countryside of Thuringia and Hesse. Maximum altitudes in the Rothaargebirge, Vogelsberg, Meissner, Kellerwald, Kaufunger Forest, Odenwald and Spessart vary from 1857 to 2761 feet. These mountains are surrounded by varied countryside, rich in forests, through which the Rhine, the Main, the Lahn, the Neckar, the Weser, the Fulda and the Werra flow — sometimes over great distances — across Hesse territory.

Many are the medicinal bathing resorts which annually attract thousands of persons in search of rest

and recuperation. There is the ancient Bad Hersfeld in the Fulda valley, the elegant Bad Homburg vor der Hoehe in the Lower Taunus, regular visitors to which included princes of many ruling houses of Europe, and the Nauheim spa for heart-sufferers which also lies in the Taunus. In the same breath, however, we must mention Bad Orb in the Spessart, Bad Koenig in the Odenwald, Schlangenbad and Bad Schwalbach in the Taunus Forest, Wiesbaden, Bad Wildungen, and Bad Salzhausen in the Vogelsberg.

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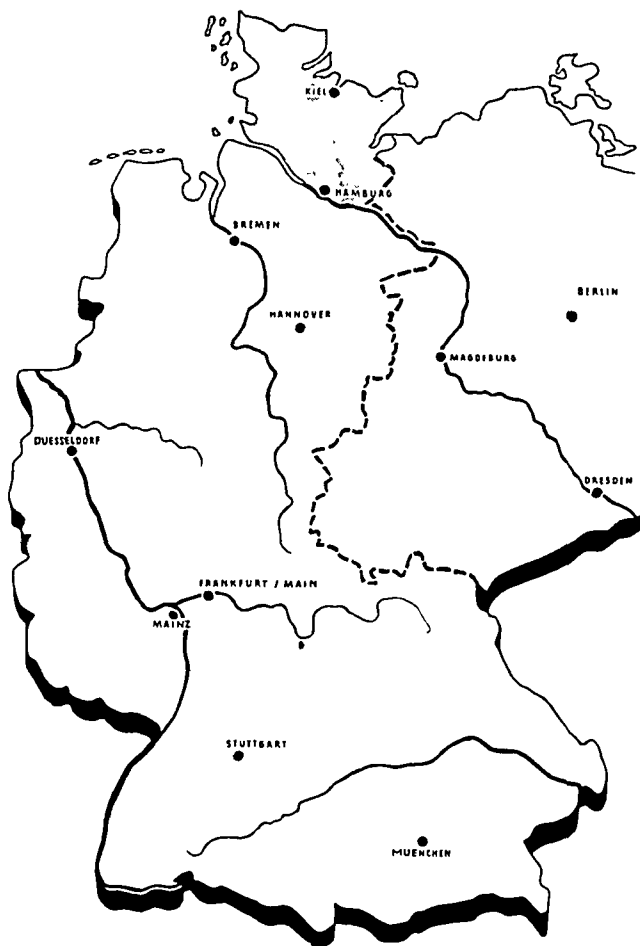
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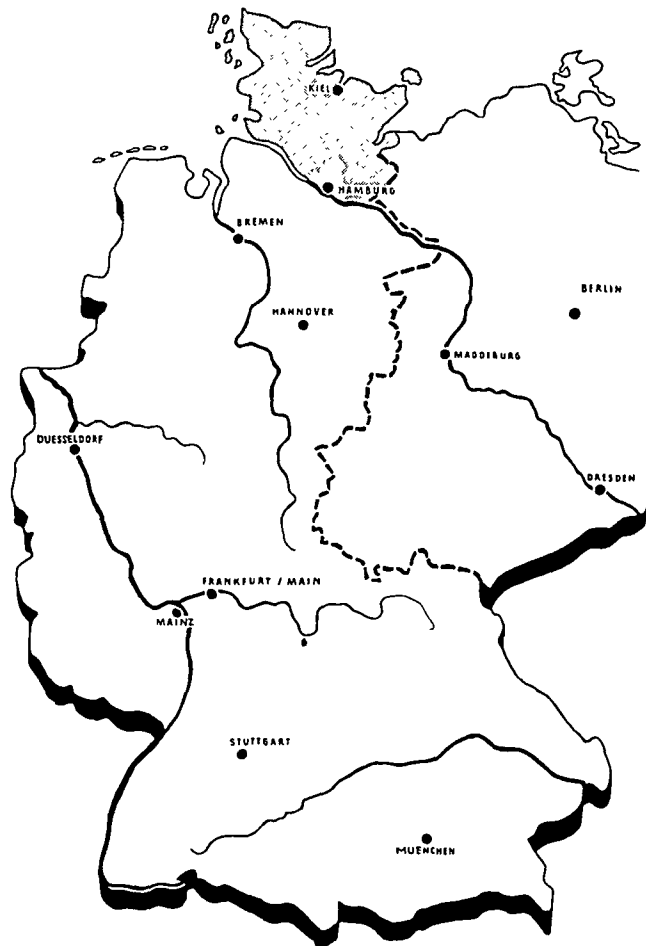
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king would not have produced so great a sacrifice on her part.

In this year the disgraced Duke of York was restored to his former post of commander-in-chief; although, but a short period before, he was found guilty of being privy to, if not actually and personally, disposing of situations in the army, by which traffic very large amounts had been realised by one of his Royal Highness's mistresses.

The money required for this year's supply amounted to fifty-six millions. The distress in all the manufacturing districts, notwithstanding, was of the heaviest nature; while, instead of ministers devising means to relieve the starving poor, oppressive enactments were substituted.

Let it not here be supposed that we are condemning any constitutional enactment of government. We only wish to see the interests of the poor a little more regarded, instead of laws being made solely with a view of aggrandising the wealthy, whose eyes already stand out with fatness. Is it not evident that the men at this period in power were resolved to continue their system of corrupt administration, in despite of all remonstrance and opposition? A long course of oppression had apparently hardened them, and so far steeled their hearts against the petitions of the suffering nation, that they actually seemed to delight in increasing the heavy burdens which already preyed upon the vitals of the community.

breeding, and, arising out of the latter, dairy farming and meat production, are the most important branches. Industry is dominated by shipbuilding and mechanical and precision engineering, manufacture of textiles and leathergoods, optical goods and food processing. The exploitation of crude oil resources has of late gained in importance. An important part is also played by independent craftsmen and artisans.

Of all the states of the Federal Republic, Schleswig-Holstein has the largest share of expellees and refugees. Its economic capacity is not sufficient to provide an adequate livelihood for all. The resettlement of some of the refugees in other parts of the Federal Republic is therefore an absolute necessity. The air raids during the war struck a heavy blow at the economic life of the province. The provincial capital of Kiel was particularly badly damaged. When the war ended, there were 5 million cubic meters of rubble to be cleared away, some 47,000 houses were completely destroyed and another 31,000 partially destroyed in the city. Shipbuilding in the Land came to a standstill through the dismantling of shipyards, and shipping activities were severely curtailed by the victorious powers, so that a completely new start had to be made. Yet, by a common effort, the authorities, the trades, and the population have succeeded to a considerable degree in re-establishing the economic life of the region.

Natural inlets along the coast, particularly on the Baltic side, afford favorable conditions for an active shipbuilding industry, fishing and maritime commerce. In Kiel, Luebeck, and Flensburg, the largest shipyards of the Land work for home and foreign shipping companies. Many large tankers and ocean-going craft have been launched since Allied restrictions on these activities were lifted, and others are under construction. Thus the shipyards are busy, but there is a lack of qualified craftsmen. In the smaller yards, which may be found along the entire coast, coastal and river craft are built.

In-shore and deep-sea fishing has developed in the bays of Eckernförde and Luebeck, along the west coast and off the North Frisian islands. A comprehensive and well-equipped fish industry deals with the processing and dispatch of the catches. Schleswig-Holstein's share of the total annual value of the output of Germany's fisheries amounts to 50,2 million DM, or 26.4 per cent.

The ports on the Baltic Sea — foremost among them Kiel and Luebeck — mainly handle shipping within the North and Baltic Seas. A highway of international importance is the Kiel Canal which runs across Schleswig-Holstein from Kiel to Brunsbüttelkoog. Craft of all kinds and sizes travel on this water lane. There were 54,993 in 1953.

In the western part of Schleswig-Holstein, the reclamation of new land from the sea has always been an important task. The "Hindenburg-Damm",



*Friedrich-Wilhelm Lübke, Minister President of Schleswig-Holstein*

which was built between 1923 and 1927 and connects the island of Sylt with the mainland, and the dams to the Halligen Oland, Langeness and Nordstrandischmoor, are among the important achievements in this incessant struggle with the elements. War and the post-war period inflicted grave setbacks on this work. The sea once again began to carry away the soil which had been won at the price of so much toil. Only since 1949 has it been possible to get sufficient materials and labor to renew the approximately 156 miles of groynes. In addition, 6,250 miles of ditches for drainage have been dug on the west coast for land reclamation purposes since the war. In the north alone, it is intended to cultivate nearly 200,000 acres of reclaimed soil.

Schleswig-Holstein is popular as a vacation center. The seaside resorts on the east coast, foremost among them world-famous Travemuende, the North Sea resorts on the west coast and on Sylt, Foehr and Amrum, and now once again the island of Heligoland and the resorts of "Holstein's Switzerland", offer German and foreign tourists rest and relaxation. It is true that, with the end of the war and the arrival of the refugees in the period after 1945, many hotels and boarding houses were diverted from their normal purpose. But, as time goes on, these restrictions are being lifted, and Schleswig-Holstein is once more acquiring its former importance as a tourist center.

and mental activity. It was not very probable, therefore, that the society of formal ladies, every way disproportionate to herself in years and taste, could be very agreeable to her, more especially when she knew that these very ladies were bitter enemies to her adored mother. If the Princess Charlotte had been allowed to associate with natural and suitable companions, the very decisive feature of her character would have rendered her the brightest ornament of society; but this was not permitted, and England has great cause to mourn that she was not more valued by her father and grandmother.

The elegant and accomplished Doctor Nott was now selected for the Princess Charlotte's preceptor, and he ardently exerted himself to improve the mind of his royal pupil. The very superior personal, as well as mental, qualifications of the reverend gentleman, however, soon rendered him an object of peculiar interest to the youthful princess. The ardency of her affections and the determinate character of her mind were well known to her royal relatives. They, therefore, viewed this new connection with considerable uneasiness, and soon had occasion to suspect that her Royal Highness had manifested too much solicitude for the interest of her friend and tutor.

The Duke of York first communicated his suspicions on this subject to the regent, and the prince immediately went to Windsor (where the

The highest legislative authority is the Land Diet elected by a direct vote under general franchise. It consists of 69 members, elected for four years. The strongest parties are the Christian-Democratic Union and the Social Democrats; however, they do not command a majority and are obliged to rely on the co-operation of the strong block of the refugee party (BHE). The South Schleswig Voters' Union, the party of the Danish minority, is

represented by four members in the present Diet. In the difficult years of the post-war period, this ethnic group showed a great increase. Since then, the number of its voters has gone down by almost one-third. Schleswig-Holstein has always shown understanding for the cultural aspirations of a genuine minority. But it sets its face against an artificially-fostered nationalism for which there is no longer any room in an age of European integration.

## RHINELAND-PALATINATE

Rhineland-Palatinate, the western border state of the Federal Republic, comprises the southern parts of the former Rhine-Province, part of the former Regierungsbezirk (administrative district) of Wiesbaden, those parts of the former Free State of Hesse which lie on the left bank of the Rhine, and the former Bavarian Rhine-Palatinate. Rhineland-Palatinate has common frontiers with Belgium, Luxembourg and France; the neighboring German territories are Northrhine-Westphalia, Hesse and Baden-Wuerttemberg. The area of the Land is approximately 7,925 square miles, with a population of 3.1 million, or about 400 per square mile. The capital is Mainz. The heart of the Land is constituted by the valleys of the Rhine and its tributaries: Ahr, Mosel, Nahe and Lahn. The waters of

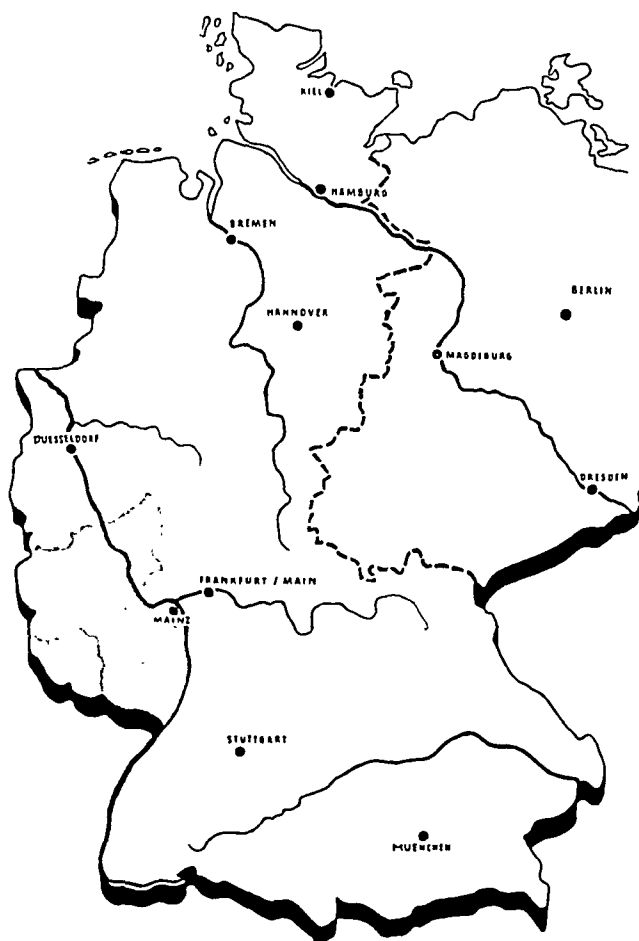
the Saar find their way to the Rhine via the Mosel. By far the largest area is comprised of the uplands of the Eifel, the Hunsrueck, the Pfaelzer Wald and the Haardt, on the left bank of the Rhine, and the Westerwald and the Taunus on the right bank. The altitude varies between 125 and 375 feet, with certain high ground reaching 500 feet.

The principal traffic arteries follow the courses of the rivers. But the uplands, too, are most accessible. The bulk of Germany's international through rail traffic crosses Rhineland-Palatinate, which thus serves as a bridge between the Federal Republic and its western neighbors.

Rhineland-Palatinate is predominantly agricultural country. 37 per cent of the surface is wooded, 31 per cent is arable land, 13 per cent pasture, and 4 per cent is under intensive cultivation, particularly wine-growing. The Land contains 64 per cent of Germany's vineyards by area, and supplies 78 per cent of the grape harvest. Its seven wine-growing districts: Rheinpfalz, Rheinhessen, Mosel-Saar-Ruwer, Nahe, Mittelrhein, Ahr, and Lahn — supply first quality vintages which have made German wine famous throughout the entire world.

In spite of the great part played by agriculture, it is industry and commerce which provide the basis of the economic strength of the state. The mountains contain a rich store of minerals. In the high country north of the Lahn, iron ore is mined in substantial quantities. 40 per cent of the entire German requirement in manganiferous iron ore is mined here. On the Lahn and the Rhine, and in the Eifel and the Hunsrueck, north and south of the Mosel, lead, tin and barite are found. Machine-building and other industries using iron ore are located in the western part of the Land, especially in the towns of Kaiserslautern and Trier.

Of particular importance are the stone quarries and the production of synthetic building materials. The so-called Neuwied Basin, the area left and right of the Rhine between Koblenz and Neuwied, is the only supplier of building materials for modern methods of light-weight building in the whole of the Federal Republic. From the basalt quarries of the Westerwald, the Netherlands, in particular, draw the stone to build and strengthen their dikes. Clay found in the Westerwald has given rise to the development of an outstanding handmade art pottery trade alongside a great ceramics industry,



which produces mainly fireproof and acidproof stone, earthenware, and fittings. Both are located in the so-called "Kannebaeckerland".

The center of the highly-developed chemical industry of Rhineland-Palatinate is Ludwigshafen, with the works of the Badische Anilin- und Soda-fabrik which lead, above all, in the production of synthetic materials and artificial resins on the basis of the researches of Professor Dr. Reppe. The pharmaceutical industry is also represented in Ludwigshafen by the firm of Knoll, and in Ingelheim by the Boehringer Works, whose medical products are world-famous. The glass and optical instruments industries, too, have outstanding representatives in the Schott Works in Mainz (formerly at Jena), and the Schneider Works in Bad Kreuznach. Another prominent activity is the leather and boot industry, centered in Rheinhessen and the Palatinate (Worms and Pirmasens), the products of which sell far beyond the Land borders. The manufacture of jewellery and the polishing of precious stones in Idar-Oberstein is also of international importance.

The economic structure thus exhibits a healthy mixture of agriculture and industry. Nevertheless, the severance of the Saar territory, which, by origin, language and economic interdependence forms one unit with Rhineland-Palatinate, has struck a grievous blow at the economy of the Land. Despite this, Rhineland-Palatinate contributes appreciably to the export trade of the Federal Republic. The principal articles exported are building stone, ceramic products, timber, semi-precious stones, coal tar dyes, medical products, galvanized sheet iron, agricultural machinery and machinery used in wine making, sewing machines, kitchenware, tools and electric motors.

The schools are largely geared to the demands of economic life. There is a state university in Mainz to which is attached the Foreign Service and Interpreters' Institute in Gernersheim, a College of Administrative Science in Speyer and many private and state schools which prepare their pupils for a variety of professions. Agricultural and vinicultural colleges uphold the traditions of a progressive agricultural economy. The state technical college for ceramics in Hoehr-Grenzhausen is attended by students from many European and overseas countries. They here receive training which is technical and practical, but also artistic.

Thanks to its natural beauty, its monuments of historical and cultural interest, its mild climate, its



*Peter Altmeier, Minister President of Rhineland-Palatinate*

wines, and, last but not least, its accessibility, the Land has become a major center of tourist traffic. The valley of the Rhine between Bonn and Bingen draws a never-ending stream of visitors from all over the world. The state is also one of the richest in Europe in cultural and historical associations. It was the first meeting ground of the Mediterranean civilization with that of the Germanic north. In Trier, to this day, the buildings of the Imperial Roman Residence tower skywards, proud witnesses to the past. The Middle Ages have left their imperishable monument in the cathedrals of Worms and Speyer in which many an emperor was crowned. Great names bear witness to the extent to which the territories today constituting Rhineland-Palatinate have contributed to human civilization. Johannes Gutenberg invented printing with movable type in Mainz; Hildegard von Bingen, Nikolaus von Cues, Ulrich von Hutten, Baron vom Stein, Josef Görres, Prince Metternich, and Karl Marx, to name but a few, were scions of this land, which helped to form their thoughts and actions.

## THE FREE HANSEATIC CITY OF HAMBURG

As autonomous city states, the two Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen occupy a special position among the Laender of the Federal German Republic. The State of Hamburg covers an area of 288

square miles. By the middle of 1953, it had once more reached a population figure in excess of 1.7 million, thus equaling the pre-war total of 1,711,877.

The significance of this fact becomes apparent only when it is realized that during the period of night raids in the summer of 1943 there began a wild mass exodus of the population, so that only about 400,000 to 500,000 inhabitants remained in the half-destroyed residential districts, where they lived in constant fear of death. In those days, 300,000 out of 555,655 dwellings were reduced to rubble and ashes. Only 20 per cent remained unscathed. There is no land in the Federal Republic which the war had shaken to its social and economic foundations to the same extent as the two north German city states. It is therefore all the more remarkable that, in spite of all the housing shortage, Hamburg has no social problem among the refugees. As most of the 750,000 refugees who came to Hamburg at once joined in the reconstruction of the city, they have by now largely become assimilated. On an average, there is more unemployment among the pre-war citizens than among the refugees.

The explanation of this unusual fact is the following: after the destruction of 53 per cent of all dwellings in Hamburg, only persons in occupations in which there was a shortage of labor were allowed to enter the city. And although there was an additional and not inconsiderable illegal influx, the selective system operated even here, as the major-

ity of these arrivals were attracted by the active economic life of Hamburg.

The foundation of Hamburg's economy is the harbor and the trade centered round it. In 1945 there was hardly anything left of Hamburg's shipping fleet. Shipbuilding was among the prohibited industries. Hamburg's merchants had perhaps not lost their good name abroad, but they had lost all their foreign branches and investments and were faced with ruin. Of the great trading houses, not much more was left than the names. Half of Hamburg's wharves had been flattened, and those that had survived lay idle. The river and the harbor basin were blocked by more than 3,000 wrecks; half the city's hinterland was cut off by the Iron Curtain, so that Hamburg, for the first time in its history, became doubly a frontier city, as the new frontier of the Iron Curtain had come closer to the city limits than the old sea boundary at the mouth of the Elbe.

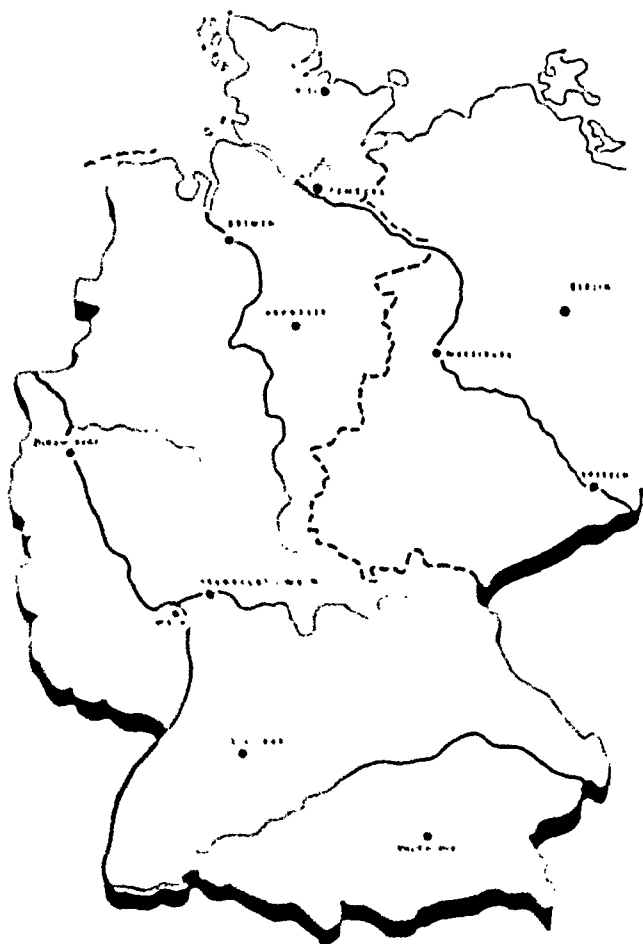
Although the port at the mouth of the Elbe is an instrument of the German economy, the most important installations are owned by the Hamburg state. War damage suffered in the harbor by the city state of Hamburg amounted to 500 million Gold Marks. About half this sum has been reinvested in DM. With this investment, it has been possible to reactivate the port of Hamburg to 75 or 80 per cent of its pre-war capacity. At present, the turn-round of goods also stands at about 75% of pre-war. This is concrete progress. However, if one compares it with other German or foreign commercial ports which today achieve 130 to 160 per cent of their pre-war totals because they were able to retain their hinterland, then it is true that Hamburg lags behind. Here lies one of the main reasons for the city's rather large permanent unemployment, which amounts to about 100,000 out of a working population of 700,000.

In view of the enormous losses sustained by the state, the economy, and the population of Hamburg, there was only one thing to do: to battle with the difficulties and to try, in the face of destruction and reverses, to create a new basis for the livelihood of the population of the Free City.

That is why Senate and citizens, commerce and industry, companies and individuals tackled so energetically the problem of reconstruction. The results of their efforts may be illustrated by a certain number of plain figures.

For instance, Hamburg has to date rebuilt more than 110,000 of its 300,000 destroyed dwellings and thereby provided new homes for half a million inhabitants. Thus, there was created within a space of five or six years the equivalent of a new residential town corresponding roughly to the size reached by the Free City in 1830, after 900 years of development.

It was not only the increasing traffic of foreign ships berthing in Hamburg which contributed to the

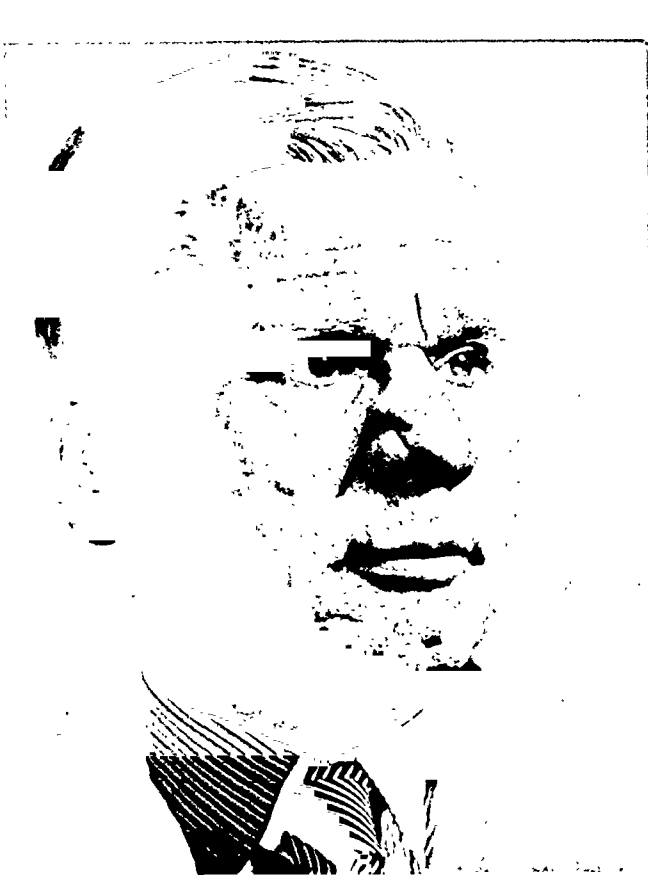


deliberate survey of the subject. But in this opinion, or hope, his Royal Highness was disappointed ; for the princess that day signed a deed, whereby she gave positively to her friend and preceptor, Doctor Nott, her library, jewels, and all private property belonging to her, and delivered this instrument into his hand, saying, "I hope you will receive this small token as a pledge of my sincere regard for your character and high estimation of your many virtues. When I am able to give you greater testimonies of my friendship, they shall not be withheld." We need hardly say that the divine was delighted at the great attention and unexpected generosity of her Royal Highness. He was more ; for his heart was subdued and affected.

A considerable period elapsed after this circumstance, when the queen was resolved to recover the deed at all hazards, as she feared, if the validity of such an instrument were ever acknowledged, royalty would suffer much in the estimation of the public. All the queen's deceptive plans, therefore, were tried ; but failed. The prince, at length, offered a large amount as a remuneration, and finally persuaded the doctor to give up the deed. Of course a good living was also presented to him, on his retiring from the situation in which he had so long enjoyed the smile and favour of his royal pupil.

The Princess Charlotte was mortified, beyond expression, at this unexpected conduct on the part





*Max Brauer, lately First Burgomaster and President of the Senate of the Free Hanse City of Hamburg*

Beside its university, Hamburg has for some years possessed a distinguished Academy of Music and a

State Art School with excellent teachers. The Hamburg Art Gallery (Kunsthalle), founded by Alfred Lichtwark, has become Germany's greatest picture gallery under the guidance of Carl Georg Heise. Other important museums are the Museum of Hamburg History, the Altona Museum, and the Ethnological Museum.

Through its influence on modern opera production, the Hamburg State Opera has reached representative rank among German theaters. The "Deutsches Schauspielhaus", the "Thalia-Theater", the "Kammerspiele", and the "Theater im Zimmer" also maintain their reputation with many splendid productions.

To further art and science in Hamburg, three great state prizes have been created, along with a number of private endowments. These are: the Lessing Prize for Literature, the Bach Prize for Musical Composition, and the Lichtwark Prize for Painting and Sculpture. In addition, the University of Hamburg distributes the Hanseatic Goethe Prize from private funds. From the same source are derived the means for the Fritz Schumacher Prize for Architecture.

In these many and varied ways, the city of Hamburg, formerly a free and independent Hanse town within the Reich, today maintains its position as a direct member of the Federal Republic. Its cosmopolitan citizens, the liberal tradition of its fathers, and the practice of autonomy and self-government make Hamburg a firm democratic stronghold within the Federal Republic of Germany.

## THE FREE HANSEATIC CITY OF BREMEN

A special enchantment surrounds the old Free Hanse City on the Weser, one of the oldest republics of this earth.

From the earliest days of the city's history, its people have turned their gaze outward to the wide world. Bremen was made a bishopric by Charlemagne in 787, and a few decades later became the seat of an archbishop whose see included the then newly-Christianized lands of Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland. Monks and seamen from Bremen helped to establish the Order of Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, to defend Lisbon from the Saracens, and to found the city of Riga on the eastern coast of the Baltic. With the passage of time, the archbishops gave way to the Diet of a city constantly growing more independent; merchants, who were at the same time shipowners, replaced the abbots and missionaries, and Bremen became a member state of the Hanseatic League, that powerful association of north German cities which opened the seas and coastal areas of Northern Europe to trade and industry. For two centuries the League dominated the economic and also, to a great extent, the political life of these regions.

But the wheel of time continued to turn. Economic and political power passed to England and the Scandinavian states, while the German princes subdued one Hanse city after another. Few escaped their destiny, but among the few was Bremen, where, as early as 1404, the burghers had erected the stone statue of Roland in the market place as a symbol of their liberties.

Bremen was the first north German city to become Protestant, and it defended its independence bravely, being, with Magdeburg, the only German city successfully to resist the Emperor Charles V at the height of his power. After the Thirty Years' War, when Sweden, one of the most powerful states in Europe, had acquired the territory between the lower Weser and the lower Elbe, Bremen, by its own unaided efforts, successfully repulsed its mighty neighbor, despite perilous sieges, and affirmed its freedom.

It was only natural that, in the 18th century, the citizens of the Free City should have manifested their sympathy for the young republics of North America, which had just achieved their independence. It is perhaps symbolic of a common freedom-

loving and republican mode of thought and feeling that the flags of the United States and of Bremen so closely resemble each other.

Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, Bremen opened up trading relations with the new republic, and, in 1796, the United States set up in the city its first consulate on the European continent. The first German trade treaties with the USA and also with Brazil were concluded in 1827 by the German Hansecities (they were three in number at that time) and, in 1847, Bremerhaven became the terminal point of the first regular liner service between the USA and the European continent.

Here we should say something of Bremerhaven, the daughter city of Bremen, founded in 1827. We are led to mention a second battle which Bremen had to sustain in addition to its incessant struggle for independence: the battle for access to the sea. When the silting-up of the Weser and the constantly increasing draught of ships threatened to put an end to its role as a port, the Free City acquired a stretch of worthless dike land at the mouth of the river and built a new harbor and a new town: Bremerhaven. The surrounding Hanoverian (later Prussian) communes vied with each other in emulating the new settlement until, in the course of the decades, a division of labor emerged where-

by "old" Bremerhaven engaged principally in passenger and goods traffic, while the Prussian town of Geestemuende (later Wesermuende) grew into the largest fishing harbor on the European continent. Today, both are indissolubly linked in the single city of Bremerhaven.

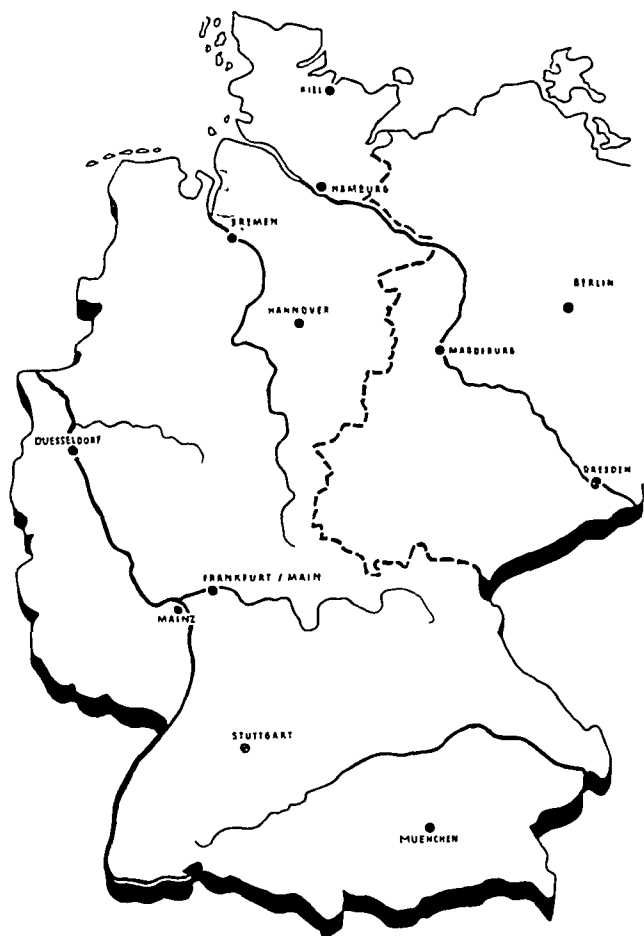
Later, economic conditions and transport requirements made it necessary to bring merchandise as far as possible up-river on seagoing vessels in order to reduce the cost of carrying it to and from the ships by rail. It was then that the Free City carried out, at its own expense, an engineering task remarkable for those times: the regulating of the course of the silted Weser, in such a way that today regular deepsea freighters can come right up to the docks of the city.

We thus get a particularly happy combination. The city of Bremen is the seat of the majority of the business houses and shipping companies. Here, all those goods are handled which are relatively costly to transport by rail, road or canal. By loading or unloading them in Bremen, the most southerly seaport of Germany, a considerable saving is effected. Bremerhaven is the center for all merchandise for which rapid transport is essential. It is also the passenger port and the most important emigration harbor in the country. In 1952, 77.8 per cent of all German emigrants left their homeland via Bremerhaven.

In the course of its long history, its perennial struggle to defend its liberties, to keep open its artery to the sea, and to develop its share in world markets, Bremen has evolved a special kind of community feeling. This sense of intimate solidarity with the destinies of their city which is characteristic of all the inhabitants found admirable expression in the years of reconstruction after the last war; with common consent, everyone in the city — Government, Parliament, business people and workers alike — put all other pressing necessities of the hour aside to concentrate every ounce of energy on getting the harbor — the vital life line of the city — once more into working condition. The executive government body of Land Bremen is the Senate, which is chosen from the "Bürgerschaft" (Parliament) and must possess the confidence of that assembly in order to function. The "Bürgerschaft" consists of 100 members, of whom 80 are elected by the City of Bremen and 20 by Bremerhaven.

The city of Bremerhaven has a municipal administration of its own, consisting of an elected assembly and a "Magistrat" (executive).

In Bremen, the distinction between Land and City is not absolute. It is true that they have separate budgets and income and expenditure accounts, but the Senate is also the supreme executive organ of the Bremen municipality, and the 80 members of the Bürgerschaft elected by the city also perform the functions of a municipal council.



that the queen should have the continued sanction of his name and interest, in all the various ways she might require. Accordingly, it was soon arranged that her Majesty should receive an additional sum of ten thousand pounds per annum for the care of her royal husband's person.

We cannot pass by this shameful insult to the nation without making an observation upon so unnatural an act. If the queen were the kind and affectionate wife she had so very frequently been represented to be, could she have allowed herself to receive an immense payment for merely doing her duty? But a more selfish woman, and a more unfeeling wife, never disgraced humanity, as this wicked acceptance of the public money fully testifies.

An additional nine thousand pounds annually was also granted to each of the princesses, whilst places and pensions were proportionally multiplied. In the case of Colonel M'Mahon, upon whom a private secretaryship had been conferred, much very unpleasant altercation took place in the House of Commons ; but bribery effected that which argument proved to be wrong. It was a well-known fact, indeed, that this individual was nothing more than a pander to the regent's lust, to which infamous engagements and practices we shall hereafter refer.

On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, he re-



*Wilhelm Kaisen, Burgomaster  
and President of the Senate of the Free Hanse City of Bremen*

The greatest catastrophe in the long history of Bremen was the second World War. In 173 air raids, more than 40,000 HE and 850,000 incendiary bombs rained down on the city. In all, 5,517 civilians lost their lives, mainly through air bombing. The number of available dwellings declined from 166,000 in 1939 to 99,000 in 1945. In the relatively short time between the cessation of hostilities and the end of 1952, Bremen succeeded in clearing about 4 million cubic meters of rubble — or more than half of the total area of ruins left by the war. During the same period, 32,000 dwellings were built in Bremen city and nearly 7,000 in Bremerhaven. But the housing crisis consequent upon the war is not yet solved. At the beginning of 1953, Land Bremen had almost 594,000 inhabitants (563,000 in 1939). Refugees make up 15 per cent of the total population, so that the social structure of Bremen also is influenced by that refugee problem so characteristic of present-day Germany. The havoc of war, dismantling, industrial restrictions and prohibitions, and, last but not least, the limits imposed up to 1951 on German shipbuilding brought great reductions in the capacity of the city's economy to employ labor. It was only in 1952 that industrial production again reached the 1936 level.

These figures show clearly how grave the consequences of the war continue to be even today for

industrial activity in Bremen. It is thus no wonder that Bremen, like Hamburg, has a relatively high incidence of unemployment. This is further aggravated by the still insufficient activity of merchant shipping and the structural modification of the import business caused by the war. Before 1939, not only Central and Eastern Germany but also a whole series of states which today belong to the East bloc were supplied with goods which had come to be considered as staples of Bremen traffic. Today, all this business is lost. Nevertheless, employment in Bremen has increased almost without interruption. In 1952, 5,200 more men and 15,700 more women were working in the Land than in 1948, at the time of currency reform.

On the other hand, there were 26,600 unemployed in 1952, i.e., 11.7 per cent of the potential labor force (without counting persons in independent occupations). Of these 26,600, at least 60 per cent were fully employable, but jobs are lacking for workers in certain callings which are typical of Bremen — shipbuilding, merchant marine, and foreign trade. This also explains the endemic character which Bremen unemployment threatens to assume; for these workers, who have their homes in the Free City, cannot be transferred to other areas where unemployment is less severe, or at least can only be so transferred on a scale completely insufficient to bring a real solution of the problem.

Trade, shipping and industry are the three pillars of economic life in the Land. As might be expected in a city state, agriculture is a long way behind these three, even though, in 1952, it produced 7 per cent of local food requirements.

In 1952 about 14 per cent of the foreign trade of Western Germany (including West Berlin), with a total value of 4.7 billion DM (imports 2.64 billion, exports 2.02 billion), passed through Bremen. 46 per cent of imports for Bremen itself or passing through the city in transit came from the USA or Great Britain. In the same year, almost half the cotton, 42 per cent of the wool, 62 per cent of the tobacco and 24 per cent of the coffee imported into West Germany passed through Bremen. The position of the city as an international cotton market reposes on the existence of the Cotton Exchange, founded 80 years ago, in which, in addition to the west German cotton trade, all cotton-spinning concerns in the Federal Republic, Austria and Switzerland participate. By reason of the immigration of a number of important firms from Berlin and Leipzig, the importance of Bremen as a wool import center has grown further since the second World War, while the city is still the most important German center for raw tobacco imported from overseas. Other important imports are cereals, wood, bast and hard fibers, fruit, wine and cork. More than 400 firms are engaged in this foreign trade.

Whereas the port installations in Bremerhaven remained relatively undamaged in the last war, those

been much exposed by Mr. Perceval, and by his apparent generous and manly defence in her Royal Highness's favour, the storm materially abated. After a long period, she was again received at court, and acknowledged innocent of the charges preferred by her assailants. Apartments were given to her at Kensington Palace, and it appeared very probable that her wishes would finally be completed, in the restoration of her beloved daughter to her society. But mark the ensuing change. Mr. Perceval was chosen by the regent to assist in his councils; and as no man can serve two causes at the same time, Mr. Perceval deserted the princess, and became the servile minister of the prince. Surely there must be something supernatural in the smile of royalty, when, in some instances, principle and conscience have fallen subdued before it. We know for an incontrovertible fact that, but a few months before Mr. Perceval's acceptance of office, he delivered his sentiments concerning the Princess of Wales to a particular friend, in these words: "I am decidedly friendly to the Princess of Wales, because I am well satisfied and assured her Royal Highness is a much injured lady. I am also convinced her mother-in-law had conceived an inveterate dislike to her before she arrived in this country, on account of the objections preferred by the prince against any connection, except that which his Royal Highness had already formed. From these unhappy circumstances, I am obliged to be-

of Bremen city suffered most heavily. 88 per cent of quayside sheds and storage room, 65 per cent of the cranes, 57 per cent of the bridges, 56 per cent of floating loading gear and 34 per cent of the railway tracks had been destroyed when hostilities ended. By 1952, more than half of this havoc had been made good at an expense of 165 million RM/DM, and the city had profited by the occasion to install the most modern new equipment.

Roughly 25 per cent of the overseas freight loaded or landed in the ports of the Federal Republic is accounted for by the harbors of Land Bremen. Despite this, commercial turnround of overseas freight in 1952 was still only 80 per cent of the 1938 figures.

The harbors of the Land are known for their rapid and cheap handling of piece goods and the deployment in depth of their transshipment system, which permits of a continuous landing operation from ship through sheds and warehouses, and the direct transshipment of goods from freighter to train, river barge or truck. In its industrial port, Bremen has modern installations for the handling of heavy and bulk cargoes, such as minerals and mineral oil, coal, wood, cement and fertilizers. The Bremen grain handling installations, with a silo capacity of 75,000 tons of heavy grains, are the largest of their kind on the continent of Europe. At the same time, Bremerhaven is Germany's most important fishing port, almost half the sea fish consumed in Germany being landed there.

Bremen and Bremerhaven and the harbors of the lower Weser which lie between them are important shipbuilding centers. (AG. Weser, Bremer Vulkan, Norddeutscher Lloyd, Rickmers Werft, Schichau Werft, Schiffbau-Gesellschaft Unterweser AG., and, as ships' chandlers, the Atlaswerke AG.) In 1952, after the lifting of the restrictions on new building, it was possible to deliver 115,290 GRT of merchant shipping, but this was still only 87 per cent of the 1938 total (132,000 GRT).

The tonnage of seagoing vessels with their home port in Bremen or Bremerhaven (including fishing vessels) was about one-third of the pre-war total at the end of 1952 (404,500 GRT against 1.25 million at the end of 1938). Ships of 160 regular services (60 to and from European ports, and 100 to extra-European ports) were calling at Bremen at the end of 1952. In addition, there were four fast liner services from Bremerhaven to the USA and Canada.

Of the 7,338 ships with a total of 12 million tons gross register entering the ports of Land Bremen in 1952, (in 1938 the total was 9,124 vessels with 10.1 million GRT), almost 40 per cent were flying the American flag. German companies had by that time managed to bring their share up to just under 17 per cent. The most important companies are the DDG, "Hansa" Bremen, the largest west German shipping company as of mid-1953, Roland Line,

North German Lloyd, Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft "Neptun", Argo-Reederei, and Unterweser Reederei AG. Bremen was initially a purely rail-road harbor. After 1935, when the canal parallel to the North Sea coast between the Weser and the Ems was successfully taken into operation, the importance of inland waterways traffic for the port of Bremen increased in the most evident manner, since the links with the industrial areas of the Rhineland and Westphalia in both directions were improved. At present, inland waterways carry 40 per cent of the freight traffic between Bremen and the interior. The share of the Federal Railways is also 40 per cent, trucking companies accounting for the remaining 20 per cent.

Alongside trade and shipping, the third pillar of Bremen economy is industry. The number of persons employed in industry at the end of April 1953 was 71,627, or roughly 6 per cent less than in 1936. Shipbuilding accounted for 14,646 (20 per cent), motor vehicle construction for 10,924 (15 per cent), machine construction 8,991 (13 per cent) and textiles for 6,480 (9 per cent). But also the food and stimulants industry (including fish-processing, brewing, tobacco), iron and steel construction, the manufacture of iron, steel and sheet metal articles, the electrical industry and the wood-working trades are important in Bremen. Approximately 10 per cent of the city's industrial output in 1952 was exported, half of the total being made up of products of the shipyards. The largest industrial enterprise in Bremen, with 10,000 employees, is the Carl F. W. Borgward automobile factory, and its branch undertakings, Lloyd-Motorenwerke and Goliathwerk GmbH.

Track vehicles are built by Hansa-Waggonbau GmbH. The Lloyd Dynamo-Werke AG. produces electric motors and generators. After the war, Spinnbau GmbH. successfully took up the construction of spinning machines in the city. The importance of Bremen as an import harbor resulted in industries which process foreign raw materials settling there, for instance, Bremer Woll-Kämmerei, the Jute-Spinnerei und Weberei, the Bremer Tauwerk F. Tecklenburg, the Bremer Rolandmühle Erling & Co., the tobacco factories of Brinkmann GmbH. and C. F. Vogelsang, and the Deutsche Vacuum Oel AG.

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These are a few examples to prove that Bremen's industry has again attained a high degree of efficiency after painful beginnings in the ruins and devastation of war and dismantling. But it should not be forgotten that much employment which was lost in those days — for instance, in the aircraft industry, which was very important before the war, and the dismantled Norddeutsche Huette (North German Smelters) — has not been made good. The Free City will therefore have to continue further the unflagging effort so far made for the expansion of industrial capacity.

virtue, goodness, and truth assumed the garb of vice, infamy, and falsehood. "Oh, blasting privilege of sovereignty! The bare scent of thy perfume spreads desolation to society; changes man, the noblest of God's works, into a monster; and the consequences of thy unnatural existence will most probably produce the engine to be used for thine own destruction!"

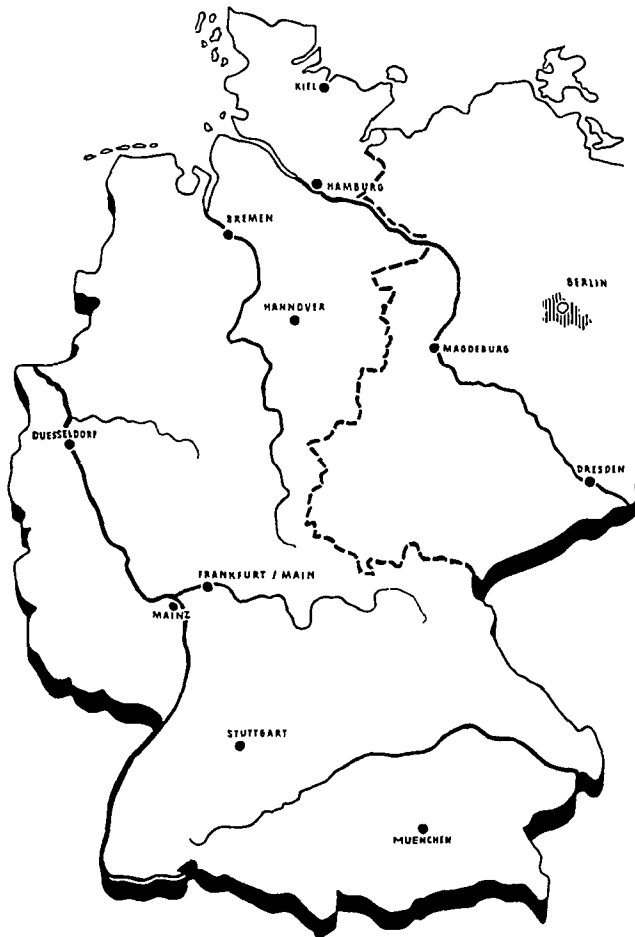
Shortly after the untimely death of Mr. Perceval, Lord Liverpool was appointed first lord of the treasury; Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer; and Lord Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department.

On the 17th of June Mr. Vansittart brought forward his budget, — the amount of the supplies required being more than sixty-two millions. Certainly this was not a very exhilarating or agreeable prospect to the nation of the retrenchments intended by the new ministry; but notwithstanding the divisions on the subject, it finally received the sanction of Parliament. Had it not been for the corrupt state of the representation, can we suppose it possible that such a sum would have been permitted to be drawn from the starving multitudes, when there existed such pecuniary distress in the manufacturing and commercial districts, unequalled in former years?

The new Parliament met for business on the 30th of November, and one of its first acts was to grant the sum of one hundred thousand pounds

## BERLIN

Berlin lies about 125 miles behind the Iron Curtain in the middle of the Soviet Occupation Zone. The city is divided into two parts: East Berlin, which is Russian-occupied territory, and West Berlin, under the protection of the three western Allies. East Berlin is ruled according to a philosophy of life and economic conceptions diametrically opposed to those prevailing in West Berlin. There is no precedent in history for a city with two currencies and two administrations operating completely separate systems of transport, electricity supply and other services essential for the everyday life of the population. West Berlin, with its 2.2 million inhabitants, has become an island almost exclusively dependent on Western Germany in its relations with the outside world. This has caused fundamental structural transformations in the city. To begin with, many Berlin enterprises were deprived of the greater part of their markets through the severance of the city from its economic hinterland. There is less scope now for the services industries than previously. The central administrations of the German state and the national economic life are no longer in the city, and their transfer to Western Germany



has entailed the migration from Berlin of 550,000 people. Berlin has lost many citizens whose particular skills were an extremely valuable economic asset, but it has retained the nucleus of its army of specialized workers. Many enterprises have seen their capital progressively impaired through post-war dismantling — up to 85 per cent — and the blockade. The restoration of the city was, therefore, dependent, in the main, on the trump card represented by the above-mentioned body of outstanding specialist workers. The second great asset is the spirit of the population, which has not capitulated before its difficulties and has turned a deaf ear to the Siren's song from the East. In no city of Europe are the twin ideas of freedom and democracy as living and vital as in Berlin.

The linking of the city with the west German currency area and the return to ordered monetary conditions went far towards creating the requisite preconditions for the rehabilitation of west Berlin economy, and also for the fulfillment of the tasks which Fate has laid upon the city since the war. The importance of West Berlin for the western world lies above all in the fact that it is only on this island that the people compelled to live under the totalitarian regime of the East can obtain a glance of the free world. Berlin has become the show window towards the East of western economic achievement. As long as the West holds Berlin, the city will be a lighthouse of freedom shining in the dark night of eastern totalitarianism. As long as the people of West Berlin have at their disposal a purchasing power roughly equal to that of their compatriots in Western Germany, hope will not die among the populations whose standard of living is kept down to a minimum by the communist conception of economics.

It is therefore a vital interest of the whole western world to bring living standards in Berlin up to a level which proves unambiguously that a free economy and the free expression of opinion make possible an easier and better life than a totalitarian state can offer. For many people from Central Germany, it is an experience that never pales to be able to spend a few days, liberated from fear, in West Berlin.

But Berlin still has great problems, the essential one being that of restoring a sound economic basis to this island city and procuring adequate employment for its population.

There are still approximately 21 unemployed for every 100 workers in West Berlin, despite the fact that 165,000 new jobs have been created in the last few years.

The restoration of Berlin's economy necessitates capital, which the Berlin firms have lost through the war and the circumstances of the immediate post-war years. If the city had had to rely entirely on its own resources, development could only have been



consequently, bartered for the pleasure of being the slave of a haughty prince, who had "relinquished justice, and abandoned mercy!"

We must here refer to a most interesting circumstance with respect to the Princess of Wales. Her Royal Highness was well aware of the bonds, still in existence, given by the Princes George, Frederick, and William, to the firm of Perigoux and Co., of Paris, which were to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds, as we have before named; and, in an open and friendly conversation with Messrs. Whitbread and Perceval, the princess said: "The regent and the royal dukes engaged in those bonds are perfectly aware they deserve severe exposure. Their action was not only wicked, but their intention also, as every person in any way acquainted with their concerns must be sure they undertook to pay more than their means would ever permit, seeing how deeply the country was in debt, and that the revenue did not then meet the annual amount required. And," emphatically added the princess, "if the world did but know of the lives sacrificed in this affair, to preserve the good reputation of these princely brothers, I suppose royalty would not gain much in the estimation of good people by the exposure."

The substance of this conversation soon afterward transpired to the Prince of Wales. There cannot be a doubt that his Royal Highness was afraid, but he resolved not to appear so; and from



*The late Ernst Reuter,  
Former Governing Burgomaster of the City of Berlin*

very slow. The participation of West Berlin in American credit assistance was, therefore, an essential prerequisite for a more rapid recovery, particularly of industry and supply services. Only thus did a further limited progression of the enterprises on the basis of their own resources become possible. America would not have made her credits available to West Berlin economy on such a large scale if she had not been convinced that the city was making efforts on its own behalf. In the spring of 1950, the first credits from American counterpart funds were distributed. Four years have gone by since then. What has it been possible to achieve in these four years of systematic reconstruction?

Today Berlin again possesses an efficient industrial apparatus which has succeeded in defending old markets and winning new ones in West Germany and abroad. Trade, particularly retail trade, has developed again. The main business streets in Berlin, such as the Kurfuerstendamm and Tauentzienstrasse, have recovered their former aspect as arteries of a great metropolis; and, at the central points of the city, modern business houses are being erected. Since roughly 600,000 dwellings were destroyed during the war in West Berlin, great attention has been paid to housing.

An efficient banking system, which had ceased to function at the end of the war, has been set on

foot again. Even if Berlin today is no longer the banking capital of Germany, as in pre-war times, it nevertheless possesses a number of efficient banks, most of them newly-founded, which participate in advancing the investment credits (principally long-term) from American counterpart funds. In the spring of 1952, it was possible to re-open the Berlin Stock Exchange, which today holds third place in terms of turnover among such institutions in Germany. And 165,000 new jobs have been provided in economic and administrative activities in the city.

Since 1950, 5 billion DM have been invested in Berlin, of which about 1.8 billion in industry. The structure of Berlin economy has emerged from this process roughly in the same form it had before the war. In the foreground are the four biggest branches: the electrical industry, clothing, food and stimulants, and machine construction. In 1953, the 3.5 billion DM turnover of Berlin industry showed the following breakdown:

electrical industry	29.6 %
clothing industry	16.3 %
food (including luxury foods, stimulants, etc.)	15.1 %
machine construction	9.6 %
chemical industry	5.0 %
iron and steel construction	5.0 %
other branches of industry	19.4 %

The economic existence of West Berlin reposes on the marketing of the products of its industries. The city is not in a position to produce its own food and raw materials.

Now that it has lost its earnings from invisible exports, Berlin's economic accounts can only be balanced by the sale of high-class industrial products. In this process, Western Germany is by far the biggest market for Berlin industry, taking about 60 per cent of all sales. During recent years, it has been possible constantly to increase West Berlin's deliveries to the Federal Republic, until, in 1953, they were almost twice as high as in 1950. This means that west Berlin industry has succeeded in making good the loss of its markets in its natural hinterland — the German territory at present occupied by Soviet Russia — by winning new markets in Western Germany. Berlin's exports to foreign countries have also showed a favorable development, and the city's products are purchased by practically every country in the world. The following are the export figures for the last three years:

1951	234.6 Million DM
1952	335.6 Million DM
1953	about 390.0 Million DM

Today there are once again firms in Berlin which sell up to 90 per cent of their output abroad. The most important industrial products which find their way to foreign countries are: electrotechnical articles, machinery, fine mechanical and optical

## CHAPTER XII.

An Interview with the Queen—An Argumentative Scene—Caroline Is Insulted—The Royal Duke Speaks—An Opposite Effect to That Intended—A Determined Rejoinder—Resentful Disposition of the Queen—A Letter to the Prince—Wifely Rebellion—Base Innuendos—Mr. C. Johnstone's Motion—The "Suborned Traducers"—Death of the Duchess of Brunswick—A Letter from the Princess—Insult Added to Injury—The Visit of Mr. Pitt—Important Papers—An Outrage against Honour—A Notorious Secretary.

**M**R. WHITBREAD communicated to the Princess of Wales the scheme then forming against her honour, and that the ministry were favourable to the wishes of the regent. Her Royal Highness stood amazed at this unexpected information. "What!" said the princess, "is not the Prince of Wales satisfied with the former abuses he has heaped upon me? Is he so abandoned, being heir-apparent, as to risk his life, or engage the vengeful disposition of the nation, in the punishment due to the crimes he has committed against me? If the generous English people were informed of half the sufferings I have endured since my arrival in this country, they would never be induced to yield obedience to the commands of a prince whose virtues are not

# GERMAN ECONOMY TRADE, FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

cause Mr. Perceval is dead, that your Majesty thinks me so unprotected as to fall immediately a prey to my base enemies? If so, your Majesty will be in the wrong; for, although Mr. Perceval forsook my interest when he engaged himself in confidence to the regent, my husband, I never shall forget the gratitude I owe him for former benefits, and his letters speak volumes of truths, which it was entirely impossible for him to name or attest, unless his mind had been duly influenced by the solid foundation upon which his opinion was fixed."

Her Majesty appeared vexed and astonished; then, assuming that hauteur for which she was so remarkable, said: "I do not know, princess, that I am under any necessity to answer your question, as it seems to me improper to do so. The prince regent has an unquestionable right to choose his ministers and counsellors, and also to engage their attentions and services for any purpose his Royal Highness may please, (?) and therefore I decline to answer any interrogatory upon the subject. Your Royal Highness must be aware this interview and conversation is very unpleasant to me, and I hope, in future, you will not put me to the very disagreeable task of refusing you an audience, or of permitting one, under similar circumstances. I must, therefore, desire your Royal Highness will take some refreshment in the adjoining room, and I wish you a very good evening."



## PROFESSOR DR. LUDWIG ERHARD, MINISTER OF ECONOMICS

"In foreign countries, the expression 'German miracle' has been coined to describe the visible success of Germany's economic policy. However, it was no miracle, but the result of the honest efforts of a whole people."  
(Professor Dr. L. Erhard)

The Federal German Minister of Economics, Professor Dr. L. Erhard, has applied in Western Germany the principles of a social free market economy. As a result of this policy, which turned its back on all conceptions of planned and directed economy, Germany can today show a stable currency and an improved standard of living, and there has been a steady expansion of national economy.

Ludwig Erhard was born in 1897 at Fuerth, in Bavaria. He studied political economy at the Commercial High School in Nuremberg and the University of Frankfurt on the Main. After successfully completing his studies, he worked as an assistant at the Institut fuer Wirtschaftsbeobachtung (Institute for the observation and study of economic trends) in Nuremberg the direction of which he later assumed. His real ambition was to follow an academic career, but his refusal to join the Nazi Party made this impossible. For the same reason, he was obliged to abandon the direction of the Nuremberg Institute in 1942. From then until the end of the war, he worked as an independent economic adviser.

In 1945, Dr. Erhard was appointed Bavarian Minister of State for Economics. He occupied this office until the cabinet reshuffle of December 1946. In 1947, he was made honorary professor of the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Munich. At the same time, he took over the chairmanship of the special office for finance and credit.

On March 2, 1948, Professor Erhard was elected Director of the Economic Administration of the United Economic Territory (U. S. and British Zones). Since September 1949, he has been Minister of Economics of the Federal Republic.

On July 1, 1952, Professor Erhard was appointed German governor of the World Bank. In December of the same year, the Technical University of Berlin conferred on him the title of Honorary Doctor of Engineering. This distinction was followed, in February 1954, by that of Honorary Doctor of Economic Science of the University of Economic and Social Science in Nuremberg.

## THE "GERMAN ECONOMIC MIRACLE"

The "German economic miracle", a slogan coined by foreigners impressed by the recovery of the German economy, is, like all such phrases, often misunderstood. Its real meaning may be explained by comparing two quotations:

The words of Robert M. Hanes, ECA Special Commissioner for Western Germany, are considered to be one of the first official utterances on the "miracle" subject. In April 1950, Mr. Hanes said: "The recovery of German industry and agriculture in the first two years of the Marshall Plan may almost be called phenomenal."

More than two years before this statement was made, on February 21, 1948, the New York Times had commented on the German situation as follows: "Western Germany has become a second Great Britain, with approximately the same population and area, where coal is the only raw material of importance, and where the production of food covers only about half the requirements. But Great Britain, with her undamaged industrial apparatus and complete freedom to produce and trade, with the enormous resources of her Empire, which more than balance her obligations towards that Empire, and with the tremendous American help already received, can only live in the strictest austerity. How Western Germany is to be expected, not only to live without such advantages, but to contribute to the reconstruction of Europe, and that under a program which proposes to leave her only 75% of her per capita production capacity in 1936 (when she produced more than 80% of her own food), remains a puzzle to which we can see only one solution: an endless stream of American subsidies to Germany and Europe". Two years later, the doubts expressed in this article were to a great extent a thing of the past. Four events of paramount importance for the rehabilitation of the German economy occurred during these two years from 1948 to 1950:

1. Currency Reform;
2. Erhard's determined pursuit of a free market policy;
3. The formation of the Adenauer Government;
4. the development of the co-operation with the countries of the Western world initiated and supported by the Marshall Plan.

The "German economic miracle" was made possible by these four circumstances and, of course, by the factors which have always been the prime movers of German economy: the German's bold willingness to assume responsibilities — always ready to take a risk, but always cautiously calcu-

lating — the efficiency, the industriousness and thriftiness of the great masses of the population, a clean and dependable administration, the feeling of solidarity among the people and, finally, the efforts made to bring about social peace.

*However flattering the ideas of a "German economic miracle" which have sprung up abroad may be to the Germans, an attitude of complacency could easily lead to disastrous conclusions, if the extent of this "miracle" and the actual productive powers of the German economy should be over-estimated.*

In a way, German economy missed the "entrée" and arrived only in time for the "dessert" when, in 1948, it could again take a seat at the table of world economy. By that time, other countries had made much more progress and today are still far ahead of Germany. Calculated per capita, the national product of the Federal Republic in 1952 lagged behind the 1938 figure by 6%, while it was higher in the Netherlands by 13%, in Great Britain by 20%, in France by 22%, and in the United States by 70%.

In appraising the "German economic miracle", one should not forget the tremendous burdens which the west German economy has to bear, in addition to those directly caused by the war, as a result of the Potsdam decisions and the East-West conflict. The country has accommodated 10 million expellees and refugees, and the flow of refugees still continues; Berlin has largely ceased to exist as an economic asset, and a capital has had to be set up in almost small-town Bonn; new itineraries have had to be organized for the movement of persons and goods; trade between Western and Eastern Germany, the volume of which before the war was almost equal to that of the present foreign trade of Western Germany, has been interrupted; dismantled plants have had to be reconstructed, etc. Nor must we forget occupation costs and defense burdens in such an enumeration.

Surely it is *miraculous* that the German economy, which lay hopelessly prostrate at the beginning of 1948, can now bear these and other burdens. We dare say that never before in history was the living standard of the broad masses of a population raised so considerably within such a short period of time as in Western Germany during recent years. On the other hand, we must warn against over-estimating the productive power of the German economy and saddling it with burdens it cannot bear.

## THE HERITAGE OF THE WAR

Warfare was total, and so was the collapse in 1945, both politically and economically: bombed roads, blown-up bridges, destroyed houses, factories, workshops, administrative and office buildings; supply of gas, electricity and water inadequate or

inexistent; no sewage in many places; no railroad traffic, no mail, no news service. The entire land was taken over and divided into four zones of occupation. The millions who were prisoners of war were precluded from participating in the

everything for the happiness and future prosperity of my child; but I must be fully convinced that my destruction of rights or enjoyments of privileges would not produce the entire annihilation of hers also. I must be made to understand that the mother and child have separate interests, and that insults received by one are not dishonourable to the other. I have also another powerful objection to keep silence upon these heartrending and distracting subjects, which is Charlotte's deep-rooted aversion to those persons who have insulted me most. This feeling assures my mind that I ought not to shrink from any avowal of truth which I may in justice to this generous nation be called upon to make, and nothing less than my child's safety shall keep me from making a disclosure of the unmerited and most incomparable wicked conduct manifested toward me. If I find that likely to operate against my daughter's happiness, I will forbear; but not upon any other ground."

The determined manner of her Royal Highness fully satisfied the abashed duke that the sentiments thus boldly expressed were the unalterable principles entertained by the princess, and would only gather energy and force by opposition and remonstrance; he therefore very soon afterward took his leave, and gave the outline of the conversation to his august mother, by whose express wish the interview had taken place.



reconstruction of their country. Millions of forced laborers trying to make their way home were swarming over the country and harrasing the population, while other millions of German workers and women, whom the bombing had driven into the villages and hamlets, were struggling to return to their cities, and countless expellees were trekking up and down the country.

Expressed in dry figures (in part still based on estimates), the heritage of the war for Germany presents the following picture:

#### *Losses of human life*

Losses in the Wehrmacht of Germans from the territory of the Reich within its 1937 borders: 1939 to 1945	3,050,000 dead
losses of ethnic Germans in the Wehrmacht (without Austrians) 1939 to 1945	200,000 dead
losses of German civilian population by enemy action (mainly air bombing)	500,000 dead
losses of German civilian population from the Eastern provinces of the former Reich, during expulsion and by air bombing: 1944 to 1946	1,550,000 dead
losses of ethnic Germans during expulsion: 1944 to 1946	1,000,000 dead
losses of Germans in concentration camps etc. (including 170,000 German Jews)	300,000 dead
Total loss of German lives	6,600,000 dead

The figures do not include the 750,000 civilians who were forcibly removed or deported to the East, and whose fate is unknown. All these millions were not available for the reconstruction of the country.

The severance from the Reich of a quarter of its territory and the consequent loss of a fourth of its arable land and of almost a fourth of its natural resources and traffic network represented a great additional privation. The east German provinces of East Prussia, West Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and the eastern parts of Brandenburg were cut off. Immediately after the capitulation, these provinces were placed under Polish or Russian administration. The German population of these areas was not taken over but expelled.

#### *Dismantling*

After the loss of human lives and the severance of the eastern territories, the next crippling blow was dismantling. This was intended to be a compensation for the damage which the German people had inflicted upon other countries during the war. The Allies planned to leave Germany approximately 65 per cent of the industrial capacity of 1936. However, since the Russians not only dismantled more than was originally scheduled, but also refused to fulfil the basic prerequisite of the plan, i.e., the restoration of Germany's economic unity, a second 'industrial plan' was set on foot granting the full 1936 capacity to the U.S. and British Zones, the two largest Western zones of occupation.

However, war damage and dismantling had reduced the effective capacity available to only 60 per cent of 1936.

The detrimental effects of the dismantling — however much the Germans recognized them to be compensation for damage done by themselves — were above all attributable to the fact that very often plants were dismantled which none of the 18 countries entitled to reparations received and which, after being dismantled, were worth only their weight as scrap. In some cases the costs of the dismantling operations were twice as high as the value of the scrap.

As a result of the release of 200,000 German patents abroad and 150,000 in Germany by the International Agreement of 1946, Germany suffered an additional loss running into billions of Marks. Moreover, in all plants and scientific institutes enquiries were instituted on methods of production and the fruits of research, and the services of inventors and scientists were often requisitioned by the Allies. The ensuing losses of intellectual property were considerably higher in value than the loss of patents.

#### *Division into zones*

While the severance of the German Eastern territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line from the remainder of Germany meant the splitting-up of a highly developed national economy of organic growth, the economic chaos became complete as a result of the division of Germany into five occupation zones (United States, British, French, and Soviet Zones, and Berlin, which was divided into four sectors).

At first, each zone endeavored to secure its necessary supplies from its own area. According to the availability of raw materials, plans were drawn up covering quarterly periods. The pegging of prices and wages, introduced by the Nazis, remained in force. Already during the war, there had been an increasing discrepancy between money in circulation and available goods. It was only natural that more and more people now looked for occupations and activities which ensured the possession of goods, since mere possession of money became less important from day to day. The black market flourished.

In order to prevent further disaster, the United States and Great Britain agreed to combine their zones economically and established the so-called "Bi-Zone" (Bizonal Economic Area). It was high time, since food allocations for the normal consumer then amounted (mid-1947) to about 40 per cent of the physiologically necessary minimum, to say nothing of the inferior quality of the adulterated foodstuffs. Because of the disorder in the monetary system, the most strenuous efforts of the Bizonal Economic Administration, whose functions had meanwhile been transferred to German hands (though under overall Allied control), remained largely unsuccessful.

by only 8.2 per cent between 1939 and 1950, while that of persons over 65 increased by 52.9 per cent. The proportion of gainfully employed persons to the total numbers in the productive age groups, on the one hand, and the numbers of independent non-employed persons (pensioners, recipients of welfare benefits, etc.), on the other, has shifted to the disadvantage of the gainfully employed.

In 1950 about 22 millions, or 46.3 per cent, of the population in the Federal Republic were gainfully employed (compared with 40 per cent in the USA, and 46 per cent in Great Britain); about 5.7 millions, or 12 per cent, were independent, non-employed persons (pensioners, recipients of welfare and relief benefits); and about 19.8 millions, or 41.7 per cent, family dependents. About 14.3 millions of the gainfully employed were occupied as workers, salaried employees or civil servants. In 1950 every seven persons fit to work had to maintain one person no longer capable of working (in 1910 the ratio was 13 to 1). In 1950 the gainfully employed were divided among the main fields of economy as follows:

Industry and manual trades	9.2 million
Agriculture and forestry	5.1 million
Commerce and transport activities	3.4 million
Public and private services	4.2 million

The main fields of economy show a highly differential development:

#### *Workers, Salaried Employees and Civil Servants in the Federal Republic*

	June 30, 1948 (in thousands)	June 30, 1953	Decrease or increase
Agriculture and forestry	1,546	1,010	— 35 %
Industry and manual trades	6,609	8,842	+ 34 %
Commerce and transport trade	2,348	2,799	+ 19 %
Public and private services	2,965	3,155	+ 6 %
	13,468	15,806	+ 17 %

The great increase in the total number of wage-earners by about 2.3 million persons, or 17 per cent, during the five years following the introduction of the new currency and of the free market policy, concerned, above all, industry and the manual trades, whose labor force increased by more than one third (+ 34 per cent), while agriculture and forestry lost more than one third (— 35 per cent) of the wage-earners employed by them.

#### *National Product*

The net national product at factor costs (national income), expressed in 1936 prices, increased from 39 billion DM in 1949 to 52.6 billion DM in 1952. In 1949 and 1952 the share of the principal branches of economy in the national income (net national product at factor costs) was as follows:

	at 1936 prices	
	1949	1952
mainly producer branches	56 %	62 %
mainly trading branches	19 %	18 %
mainly services branches	25 %	20 %
Net national product at factor costs (national income)	100 %	100 %

In the case of the predominantly producing branches, the increase from 1949 to 1952 was greatest in industry (exclusive of building) with 38.8 per cent at 1936 prices. Agriculture and forestry followed with 28.2 per cent, and the manual trades with 13.3 per cent.

#### *Principal Branches*

The Federal Republic is a highly industrialized country. In 1952 the share of industry (not including building) in the creation of national wealth was about 41 per cent (computed at 1936 prices). In 1952 industry had a total monthly turnover of about 9.9 billion DM, 11.5 per cent of which was from exports. Since the currency reform, the number of persons employed by industry has risen by two-fifths, sums paid out as wages and salaries have doubled, general turnover tripled, and export turnover increased seven times. In 1951 the share of the textile industry in the total number of industrial employees was 11 per cent, those of the coalmining and machine construction industries 10 per cent each, while the electrical industry employed 7 per cent. The textile industry ranked first in turnover, followed by the chemical industry, the machine construction industry and the iron and steel producing industry.

In 1952 the share of agriculture in the creation of the national wealth was about 10 per cent. It is in a position to meet about 65 per cent of west German food requirements and has been able to increase its production by about 12 per cent compared with pre-war. Approximately 18.4 per cent (compared with 43 per cent in 1882) of the gainfully employed are engaged in agriculture. While, in 1871, two-thirds of the population of Germany still lived and worked in the country, this figure had dropped to less than one-third in 1939. Although this flight from the land is still continuing, it has, however, been possible to make good in large measure the economic disadvantages involved by far-reaching rationalization measures (consolidation of scattered rural strip holdings, use of modern agricultural machinery, etc.). In 1952 the building trades, with a 5.4 per cent share in the creation of national wealth, were the third largest productive group, after industry and agriculture.

More than 1.8 million persons are employed in building. Close behind come the wholesale trades, with 4.7 per cent, and the railroads, the retail trades and the manual trades, with 4.4 per cent each (computed at 1936 prices).

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We should not act with justice or honour if we neglected to state this omission; because the letter reflected much credit upon the princess, and ought to have been the first read when the council assembled. The result of this new inquiry, however, was what the vindictive queen intended it should be; for the almost distracted Princess of Wales was refused the natural privilege of intercourse with her only daughter.

In the meantime, every opportunity was gladly embraced to detract the character of the princess. Base innuendos and malicious remarks were incessantly poured forth against her, until her life became one continued scene of sorrow and abuse, caused by those from whom she ought to have experienced protection. Under these imputations, the princess again appealed, by an address to the Speaker of the House of Commons; and, after many inquiries and replies, the subject was dismissed with an acknowledgment that

# THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF THE REHABILITATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC

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## THE CONCEPT OF THE FREE MARKET POLICY AND ITS SUCCESS

Among the factors mentioned in Chapter I which have made the "German economic miracle" possible, the most decisive was undoubtedly the courage of Professor Erhard, then Director of the Bizonal Economic Administration, in setting free the forces of production on the day of currency reform. This move represented a drastic shift from the principle of a government-controlled economy to a free market policy. Existing controls were lifted; everybody was permitted to produce, sell and buy freely, according to his income or credit. Prices were to be allowed to develop in accordance with the free play of the forces of supply and demand.

Many clever people shook their heads and predicted an economic catastrophe. "We have nothing to distribute," they said, "Production is paralyzed, and there are no raw materials available." But all these warnings failed to upset Professor Erhard.

### *The Social Character of the Free Market Policy*

The new German economic policy is referred to as "social free market policy". Coined by Professor Müller-Armack in 1947, this term is to be understood as "a principle going far beyond that of the liberal market policy". In a social economic order, "a basic intellectual attitude must create the framework in which the instrument of competition can be applied". In a Christian world order, this means that Christian principles must be a decisive factor in shaping the economic and social pattern. The social character of the free market policy makes it a foremost and paramount duty to ensure employment to the population. The call for optimum employment must, therefore, have a prominent place in a "social" free market policy. This policy must, however, be clearly distinguished from that of full employment, which aims at work for all at any cost and runs the risk of leaving out of consideration the possible disturbances to the laws and forces of a free market economy which the measures taken for its implementation might involve.

### *The Immediate Repercussions of the Free Market Policy*

The free market policy began to function smoothly in a surprisingly short time. As soon as people were again able to buy and sell freely with the help of

a sound currency, the producers suddenly found it worth the trouble to turn out good merchandise in the requested quantities because they could once again put the profits to good use. However, producers and dealers had to make real efforts to give full satisfaction to their customers because, once the immediate heavy pent-up demand remaining from the war and post-war period was satisfied, the consumers again became very particular in their choice. They no longer accepted everything that was offered to them, but wanted value for money spent. In other words, if the price was the same, customers purchased the better article; if the quality was the same, they bought the cheaper goods. In so doing, they forced producers and dealers to enter into competition with each other. This rivalry is the real motor of the social free market economy.

Mainly for reasons of social policy, the free market principle could not at first be applied in all fields to the same extent. Initially, prices of some raw materials, such as coal and steel, had to be fixed by the Government. Enterprises like the Federal Railways, the Federal Post and public utilities (electricity, gas and water supply) also remained outside the competitive economy for the time being. In order to facilitate its organic reconstruction, agriculture, too, needed special "marketing laws" to protect it against the shock of foreign competition, until it was again able to face its rivals. The manual and retail trades also demanded that consideration be given to their special situation, which is conditioned particularly by their lack of credits. Finally, it was necessary, from the viewpoint of social policy, that the Government should assist and control the housing programs.

In the course of time, the principles of the free market policy were increasingly applied in many of the above-mentioned fields. It soon became apparent that the sectors of economic life in which there was still too much planning, or the attempt was being made to marry controls and free competition, were sadly lagging behind those which had adopted the free market policy.

### *The Shortage of Capital*

In order to produce and distribute more, it was not only necessary to maintain existing enterprises, but

employment contracts were concluded before the currency reform for the sole purpose of obtaining better food ration cards.

Since it reached its peak of two million during the winter 1949/50, the number of unemployed persons, apart from seasonal fluctuations, has steadily declined despite the influx of refugees. In October 1952, the figure approached the one million mark for the first time; in summer 1953, it even fell below one million. There are good reasons to believe that it can be reduced even further. In this connection, we mention the results of a study of the Federal Institute for Labor Placement and Unemployment Insurance which shows that there are a considerable number of "unemployables" and that scarcely three-fifths of the workless are 100% employable.

The causes of the German unemployment problem are the huge number of expellees and refugees and the difficulties their presence occasions in the regional distribution of labor and industries. While unemployment is very low in the highly-industrial Laender, the ratio of workless to the total manpower potential is still very high in the "Refugee Laender" (Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein). The situation is especially serious in regions along the zonal border in the east, where the Iron Curtain has severed interconnected economic areas. More than two-thirds of the unemployed persons in the Federal Republic live in the Laender along the artificially created border. Only increasingly intensive construction of housing in the industrial areas and a far-sighted traffic and transport policy can bring effective alleviation and obviate the danger

of these border areas becoming more and more deserted.

### *Is the Free Market Policy social?*

Today, nobody in the Federal Republic or abroad seriously disputes the come-back of the west German economy and its recovered health. However, some critics maintain that the free market policy has brought advantages only to the entrepreneurs, while the economically weaker groups of the population have had only an inadequate share, if any, of the fruits of its success. Nobody denies that an ideal state of economic security and social justice has not yet been reached in the Federal Republic, and that some economic groups have profited more than others from the country's recovery. Tension and inequalities still existing are mostly attributable to the fact that Germany has not yet fully implemented the free market policy. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that great and successful efforts have been made during recent years to improve the living standard of the economically weaker groups as well.

For example, more than twice the amount of fats and meat is consumed today as in 1948/49. Since then, the buying public has been spending a higher proportion of its income on non-essential goods which it had had to do without in the years of war and privation. Thus, in 1952 five times as many motorcycles, one and a half times as many radios, three and a half times as many refrigerators were sold as in 1949. These goods and commodities have by no means been acquired by a few well-to-do people only. All groups of the population have shared in this rise in the standard of living.

### *Average monthly Consumption of Food per head in Working-class Households of 4 Persons*

	Households of 4 Persons					Difference between	
	1950	1951	1952	1952 (1st six months)	1953 (1st six months)	1952 and 1950	1953 (1st six months) and 1952 (1st six months)
	Grams					in per cent	
<i>Animal products</i>							
Unskimmed milk (in liters)	9.0	8.6	8.4	8.2	8.6	— 6.5	+ 4.4
Butter	339	309	301	319	261	— 11.2	— 18.2
Fats (total without butter)	1,099	1,237	1,344	1,334	1,339	+ 22.2	+ 0.3
incl. margarine	602	804	914	909	933	+ 51.8	+ 2.6
Cheese	319	359	375	405	376	+ 17.6	— 7.2
Meat and meat products	1,817	2,012	2,138	2,073	2,235	+ 17.7	+ 7.8
Fresh fish	201	245	254	277	212	+ 26.4	— 23.5
<i>Plant and cereal products</i>							
Bread and baker's wares	7,246	7,092	7,024	7,097	6,846	— 3.1	— 3.5
Farinaceous products (macaroni, etc.)	2,354	2,168	2,017	1,990	1,948	— 14.4	— 2.1
Potatoes	9,849	9,905	9,326	3,045	2,308	— 5.3	— 24.2
Sugar	1,388	1,383	1,341	1,229	1,213	— 3.4	— 1.3
Fresh vegetables	2,509	2,424	2,422	1,870	2,009	— 3.4	+ 7.4
Fresh fruit	2,387	2,072	2,604	933	1,132	+ 9.1	+ 21.3
Imported fresh fruit	256	339	447	498	860	+ 74.6	+ 72.7

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*"To his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent."*

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An economic system which has paved the way for such improvements in general living conditions may rightly call itself social. The social character of the free market policy consists precisely in the wise and elastic harmonization of the principles of a natural and liberal economic policy with the particular political, economic and social situation of a national economy. A policy which adheres to the principle of a social free market economy must show as much steadfastness in its principles as elasticity in the execution of day-to-day tasks.

### *The Free Market Policy of the Social Democrats*

The result of the Federal elections of September 6, 1953 confirmed the assumption that the overwhelming majority of the population considers this economic course as social, and that it attributes its successes above all to the policy of Professor Erhard. An acknowledgement of this policy and of its successes can be deduced from the fact that the economic principles of the Social Democratic Party, which were published toward the end of 1952, show a strong tendency towards a free market policy. Professor Schiller, former Hamburg Senator for Economic Affairs, even characterized them as "free market policy from the Left".

The economic results achieved, the improvement of the standard of living of the broad masses of the working class, the contrast to the pre-1948 ration ticket economy — all this is so self-evident that even Erhard's political enemies now acknowledge the bright sides and successes of his policy and are about to abandon their ideas of a controlled economy. The German Socialists have also espoused the principles of free consumption, free competition and efficiency. We perceive only a faint echo of their old ideas in Professor Schiller's demand that

"competition and planning must be brought into a correct relationship with each other".

### *Future Aims and Tasks of the Free Market Policy*

Precisely because the free market policy is a living and dynamic economic order, it will not and cannot rest on past laurels. By reason of its inherent dynamic character, its aims for the coming years can already be clearly discerned: — Production must be further increased. A people can only consume as much as it has produced. To this end, the capital market, i. e., the direction of savings into productive channels, must again become fully efficient. Taxes, which in some cases are too high, must be reduced, so that production may develop more vigorously. Thus tax yields will increase despite tax reductions; this in turn will make possible increased social benefits for the economically weaker groups of the population. By the mechanism of competition, an expansion of production will also lead to renewed price reductions to the advantage of everybody.

It is imperative that the necessary preparations be made and the appropriate economic conditions created for the restoration of German unity. A German defense contribution, tenable from the point of view of economic policy, must also be prepared in such a way that it can be harmonized with a continually rising standard of living.

Externally, the free market policy strives for increasingly close ties with world economy, the economic integration of Europe being the principal aim of its efforts. In addition to this, the desire of the Federal Republic is to engage in an intensive exchange of food and commodities in peaceful competition with all nations. It is therefore striving to bring about the removal of customs and trade barriers and free convertibility of currencies.

## THE NEW CURRENCY

The date on which the old Reichsmark was replaced in the Federal Republic of Germany by a new currency, i. e., the Deutsche Mark, was, as explained above, the decisive turning point in the economic development of the country. It was no coincidence that the introduction of a new currency and the first steps putting into practice a new politico-economic concept occurred on the same date, since one measure was the pre-condition for the other. Currency reform was effected by means of a monetary cut which left to individual holders of Reichsmarks only 6.5% of their money in Deutsche Marks, but granted everybody a per capita quota of 40 Deutsche Marks.

### *Success of the New Currency*

The new currency had a good press in Germany and abroad when it celebrated its fifth birthday on June 20, 1953. The young currency is deemed to be a hard currency, hard enough, in the opinion of

some people, to be exposed to the storms of unrestricted foreign exchange transactions.

The success of the Deutsche Mark was reflected in the black market rates. At the end of 1948, 100 DM were quoted in Zurich at 22 Swiss frs. The end of 1949 brought the sensational rise to 74.50 Swiss frs., while, as a result of the devaluation of the Swiss Franc, the official parity was reduced from 129 to 104. The exchange rate continued to improve, and in the summer of 1953, the two currencies were practically in a ratio of 1:1.

In accordance with the international upward trend of prices, the internal purchasing power of the Deutsche Mark has decreased by about 10% since its introduction. However, since that time, the quality of merchandise has considerably improved. One can buy today for 1 DM commodities of better quality, and thus cheaper, than five years ago.

this most disagreeable business. To you it is well known that the good king, your father, has invariably treated me with the most profound respect and proper attention ; and his Majesty would have done me more essential service long since, had it not been for the oath he gave to Lord Chatham, to preserve from all public investigation the connection formed in 1759 with the Quakeress.

“I am aware, sir, that you may say I intrude myself upon your royal notice very frequently ; but I think and feel it to be my indispensable duty and privilege. I have lately had an interview with Lord Liverpool ; but his lordship cannot serve your Royal Highness and the persecuted Princess of Wales. I, therefore, shall not submit myself to any further interviews with his lordship, by my own request. As I intend this letter as a final appeal and explanation to your Royal Highness, I beg to ask your forbearance and lenity on account of its length and detail.

“Your Royal Highness has not forgotten how strangely I was allured from my father’s court to receive your hand in marriage (the letters of 1794 bear me witness). You cannot have forgotten the kind reception of the king, your father, on my arrival in the metropolis of this empire, and the sarcastic manners of the queen. Two days had scarcely passed after our marriage, when you commanded me to receive Lady Jersey upon all occasions, although your Royal Highness was too well



## Financing of Investments since Currency Reform

(in million DM)

	June 21, 1948 to June 30, 1949	2nd half-year of 1949	1950	1951	1952
1. From budgetary funds	1,950	1,370	2,910	4,280	5,155
2. From domestic capital market funds	990	1,090	2,593	3,246	4,315
3. From reinvested counterpart funds put into use	179	199	1,771	820	548
Total: 1 to 3	3,119	2,659	7,274	8,346	10,018
4. Pre-financing by central banking system	—	71	586	144	—
5. "Other items", such as self-financing (balance)	5,181	2,870	3,940	6,885	6,632
Total: 1 to 5	8,300	5,600	11,800	15,375	16,650
6. Normal depreciations on investments	6,600	3,050	6,500	7,575	8,850
Total: 1 to 6					
Gross investments	14,900	8,650	18,300	22,950	25,500

## Promotion of Saving

It is urgently necessary to stimulate the formation of savings, and for this purpose the holders of saving accounts have been granted extensive tax privileges. After the slackening of the Korea boom, savings deposits increased greatly. At first, savings were chiefly made by taking out life and other insurances and by deposits with building societies. Insurance companies thus became important lenders of capital. Savings accounts, too, became quite important again in a relatively short time. Although interrupted by the Korea boom, these accounts have increased to such an extent since mid-1952 — when the most urgent accrued demands for consumer goods had been met — that we are justified in hoping that they will again fulfil their normal functions.

The efforts of the agencies responsible for formulating economic policies aim, therefore, at reviving confidence in long-term investments on the securities market and thus preparing the ground for a capital market which, for the reasons set forth above, is practically non-existent at present. The whole problem was particularly complicated by the fact that interest rates on capital were fixed too high at the time of currency reform.

## Figures concerning the Monetary and Credit Situation in the Federal Republic of Germany 1948—1953

(in million DM)

Status as of end of	Credits granted by banking institutions to non-bank customers		Money circulation (exclusive of Berlin banknotes)	Demand deposits	Forward deposits	Savings deposits	DM quotations on the Zurich free market (100 DM = sfrs)	Index of industrial production 1936 = 100	Cost of living Index 1950 = 100
	short-term (up to 6 months)	medium- and long-term							
September 1948	3,240		5,067	7,275		958	26	71	107
December	4,799	473	6,054	8,209	1,596	1,599	20	79	112
June 1949	6,809	1,420	6,287	9,360	1,833	2,469	69	88	107
December	10,744	2,613	7,058	10,541	2,115	3,061	70	98	105
June 1950	13,124	4,676	7,440	10,522	3,162	3,826	81	110	98
December	15,675	7,412	7,682	11,470	4,168	4,065	80	131	101
June 1951	15,676	9,552	7,781	11,773	5,134	4,201	90	136	108
December	17,896	11,354	8,801	13,701	5,692	4,984	85	140	112
June 1952	18,390	12,981	9,440	13,135	6,779	5,994	93	145	109
December	20,988	15,971	10,217	14,963	7,759	7,404	92	153	110
May 1953	21,962	18,307	10,501	14,911	9,475	8,660	96	156	108

## PUBLIC FINANCES

The fiscal policy of the German Federal Government is to a very large extent dominated by the burdens which have arisen from the internal and external liquidation of the war. Internally, this is reflected by the amount of expenditure for social purposes; externally, by the assumption of the financial burdens resulting from international debt agreements and from the German contribution to the common defense of the free world. As a

result of this enormous expenditure, the Federal Republic has the highest tax burden of all countries in the world.

For 1952/53, receipts and expenditures of the budgets of the Federation, Laender, municipalities, and rural parishes and associations of parishes, including the Equalization of Burdens budget, amounted to more than 38 billion DM. 85 per cent of this expenditure, or 32 billion DM, had to be

raised by taxes. With this sum, to which must be added statutory social insurance contributions amounting to at least 9.5 billion DM, German tax capacity is completely exhausted. Compared with 1952/53, the Federal budget increased by 4.5 billion DM to 27.8 billion DM for the Fiscal Year 1953/54. For 1954/55, it was possible, owing to specially favorable circumstances, to arrest this steady growth. The initial estimate for 1954/55 is 25.1 billion DM, of which 1.5 billion DM, comprising the extraordinary budget, must be procured by way of loans.

It was possible for a time to bear these burdens owing to a rapid increase in turnover. The following table shows that lately, however, charges have been rising faster than the national product:

(in billion DM)	revenue from taxes and statutory contributions	of which accrues to Federation and Laender	net national product at factor costs
Calendar year 1952	31.7	26.16	97.5
Calendar year 1951	25.8	20.94	90.2
Increase from 1951 to 1952	5.9	5.22	7.3
in %	22.6	25	8.1

Taxes and social burdens in Germany were the highest in the world in 1952/53, since they amounted to 42.2% of the national product at factor costs. Calculations and comparisons of this kind are highly problematic, because they leave many questions unanswered, but they are the only criteria available. The above figure, for example, does not take into consideration the fact that, compared with other countries — such as Britain and Sweden — with their state policies of social welfare, the Federal Republic is unable adequately to perform important governmental tasks, and that considerable accrued demands of the population must remain unsatisfied. It does not, therefore, fully reflect the pressure of the financial burden.

#### Defense Contribution

The permanent dilemma of the Federal budget is attributable to the fact that it is burdened with inelastic expenditures. These permanent disbursements, such as defense contribution, financial aid to Berlin, appropriations for social purposes, subsidies for housing construction, and many other such items, eat up 90% of the budget, defense contribution and social expenses alone accounting for 40% each.

*In spite of all this, the Federal Republic has based its policy on the firm determination to go to the extreme limit in its economic and financial efforts for the defense of Europe. 950 million DM per month have to be raised by the Federal Republic as soon as the EDC Treaty enters into force. To this sum we must add the non-recognized occupation costs for Berlin and other payments resulting from the Allied occupation and from defense efforts. In the period from May 1945 to September 1950, the*

*Laender and, from April 1, 1950 on, the Federation appropriated and spent a total sum of 24.8 billion RM and DM for real occupation costs. For the period from October 1, 1950 up to the end of 1952, the expenditure of the Federation for real occupation costs, properly so called, and defense burdens amounted to approximately 19 billion DM.*

#### Expenditure for Social Purposes

According to the figures of the Federal Minister of Finance, total expenditures for social purposes amounted in 1952 to 41% of the taxes, as against 21% in 1938; or to 14% of the gross national product compared to 6% in 1938. The share of Federation, Laender and local authorities in the 1952 social expenditure, which reached a total of 17.5 billion DM, was 8.4 billion; that of the autonomous social insurance administration came to 8.1 billion. The social charges of the Federation continue to rise; they increased from 5.3 billion DM, in the Fiscal Year 1950, to 8.4 billion DM in the budget estimate for 1953.

Since 1952, public disbursements for expellees and refugees have been partly covered by the Equalization of Burdens Fund. Under the Federal Law on the Equalization of Burdens, all property is subjected to a 50% levy, which must be amortized in quarterly installments over the next thirty years — i.e., by March 31, 1979 — and on which interest is meanwhile to be paid. The receipts of the Equalization of Burdens Fund are estimated at slightly under 2.5 billion DM per annum.

#### Special Burdens

Germany is not only saddled with the burdens arising from the war, which weigh on other countries, too; she must also bear special burdens as a result of post-war political developments. These concern, in particular, costs arising from the accommodation and care of expellees and refugees, dismantling, etc. It is not easy to estimate and classify these items.\*

The following table gives a brief outline of the magnitude of the expenditure concerned:

#### German Defense Burdens and Special Expenditure in the NATO-Year 1953/54:

(in billion DM)	minimum burden	conservative estimate of actual expense
Defense contribution	10.0	10.0
Amounts which really represent defense contribution, such as aid to Berlin, Federal Border Police	3.75	3.75
Public and private expenses for expellees and refugees	9.47	11.12
Revision of the Morgenthau policy and other items after deduction of possible duplicated figures	2.0	2.7
	25.22	27.57

\* In their pamphlet, "What can Germany pay towards defense?", Dr. Dräger and Dr. Grolkopp have attempted to analyze this problem.

in confidence upon those subjects; but you have never condescended to acknowledge those communications, or expressed one sentiment of obligation for the strict silence I have observed. I have been restrained only from the most ardent and parental affection to my lovely daughter, or long ere this I would have proclaimed the extent of the wrongs I have endured from some of the illegal and unjust impositions practised upon me and the British nation. Your Royal Highness knew, at the moment you met me at the altar in the palace, that you were already the affianced husband of Mrs. Fitzherbert, and you were well aware that if my uncle, the king, had known of that former circumstance, he would have prevented the left-handed marriage taking place. In this his Majesty was deceived, and I have been the victim of your intentional imposition. It has generally been supposed by your Royal Highness's family connections that there was some impropriety or defect by which you received an unfavourable opinion of me in the early part of our fatal marriage; and, in my presence, your Royal Highness has insulted me by such insinuations, though you well know I was not the offender, but the offended! Up to this period, I have buried your Royal Highness's unnatural conduct to me in my own bosom; but if I am to be so injured, and if my character is to be so vilified, I shall explain myself to the nation, and think I am performing an imperative duty.



## WILHELM VOCKE, DOCTOR OF LAW

Geheimer Finanzrat

President of the Board of Managers of the Bank deutscher Länder

graduated as a Doctor of Law in 1908, and became an assistant judge in 1911. From 1912 onwards, the future Geheimer Finanzrat was successively employed in the Finance Office, Wuerzburg, the Reich Patent Office in the Reich Ministry of the Interior (Banking Section), and as Regierungsrat in the Reichsbank Directorate. At the age of 33, he was appointed a member of the Directorate of the Reichsbank by Friedrich Ebert, President of the Weimar Republic. His duties included the following: currency policy, credit, banking law, foreign relations. Dr. Vocke later worked with Helfferich, Luther and Schacht on the currency reform of 1923 and 1924 and the elaboration of the Reich Bank Law of 1924. In addition, he participated in most of the international conferences of the period and in the preparatory work for the foundation of the Bank of International Settlements. He was deputy member of the Administrative Council of that institution from 1930 to 1938. On February 1, 1939, he was dismissed by Hitler (as a result of the Memorandum of the Directorate of the Reichsbank against excessive rearmament). He worked in a private capacity until 1945, in which year he became deputy president of the Managing Board of the Reichsbank Head Office for the British Zone, in Hamburg, a post which he held until the Office was dissolved in the spring of 1948. Since June 1948, Dr. Vocke has been President of the Board of Managers of the Bank deutscher Länder, and since March 1950, a member of the Administrative Council of the Bank of International Settlements.

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During the negotiations on the volume of the defense contribution, the above-mentioned burdens were often not sufficiently appreciated. In this connection, we should not forget that, besides direct military defense, there is also an indirect economic and social defense. Should the indirect internal defense fail, preparedness for military defense will also become valueless. *In determining the amount of the German defense contribution, great importance must therefore always be attached to the weight of social expenditure.* The financing of the defense contribution must not endanger German economy or the stability of the currency. The danger exists, however, that this might happen, if the contribution were excessively high.

### Public Investments

Federation and Laender have had, in addition, to pave the way for the extensive investments which were necessary to step up production or essential from the point of view of social policy. They have had to make sharp adjustments to their fiscal policies in order to promote specific investments

and savings. The method of granting tax benefits to attain this objective has led to a loss of revenue, the extent of which is hard to determine.

Of a total of 16.7 billion DM net investments in 1952, 5.2 billion were raised by Federation, Laender and local authorities; 75% of this sum came from taxes and levies.

Public investments are to a very large extent the result of the war. Let us mention the reconstruction of the traffic network with the blown-up bridges and destroyed roads, the repair or rebuilding of bombed-out schools, hospitals, churches, administrative offices and, finally, the investments for housing construction.

### Tax Policy

It proved possible to raise these tremendous sums despite the fact that the Federal Finance Administration has had no time, during the short period of its existence, to produce a comprehensive and organic reform of the taxation system which would ease tax burdens and, where possible, also offer inducement for increased production and efficiency, formation of capital, and investments. The existing

they might have proved of the greatest consequence to her Royal Highness. We cannot wonder at this, when we take into account the character of this private secretary, who dared to violate the rights of friendship, and break through the most sacred ties of conjugal affection, treating the honourable engagements of persons in general as matters of minor consequence. Were this depraved man now an inhabitant of the earth, we would ask him if his recollection could furnish the number of inroads he had made upon the abodes of innocence and beauty, to gratify his royal patron. We could ourselves name several instances; but one will suffice, which we copy from the manuscript of a friend, and the substance of which has been before published.

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comprehend why this suggestion is made by you also. If I go away, shall I not leave my beloved child exposed to the determinate will and caprice of the queen, and others, who, doubtless, will vex her as much as possible? Are you, sir, requested to represent this to me, or is it your private opinion?" Mr. Whitbread replied, "It is my personal opinion, and solely to provide against any unhappy effects arising from the queen's displeasure, which," he added, "I well know is unbounded."

On the 27th of May the princess went to the Opera House. It was her first appearance in public since her triumphant acquittal. Her Royal Highness was received with considerable acclamations, while even her enemies were compelled to acknowledge "the dignity, delicacy, and feeling preëminently displayed in her behaviour."

On the 30th the regent gave a grand supper and ball, but the princess was not invited.

The supplies required for the service of this year amounted to upwards of one hundred and twenty millions.

Endless vexations and anxieties attended the Princess of Wales up to the year 1814; but the public voice cheered her to the ultimate defeat of her base enemies.

The transactions of this year do not reflect much credit upon certain misnamed illustrious individuals, and can never fail to excite contempt in the minds of the British people. The Douglas party



system of taxation had to be used as a foundation, with the result that the Turnover Tax has now taken on considerable importance.

### *The Structure of Tax Receipts (in %)*

Fiscal Year	1936	1950	1951	1952
Income and Corporation Taxes	41	38	40	43
Turnover Tax	21	28	30	29
Customs and Excise Taxes	30	26	22	21

The Federal Finance Administration has had to content itself with the so-called "little tax reform", the objective of which was to increase tax yields by reducing rates of taxation. These reform measures were necessary and successful, since the limit of tax capacity had been exceeded. They are designed to counteract the excessive tax burdens which have had an inhibitory effect on economic development. As a result of the 1953 tax reform, the Federal Finance Minister has to accept a temporary loss of revenue of about 950 million DM; in so doing, he is counting on future economic development to lead to an increase of the national product.

### *Public Budget Indebtedness*

Despite the enormous burdens, public indebtedness has been kept within very moderate limits, and, for the time being, it is considered to be a serious problem only in the case of the Federal Railways.

### *Public Indebtedness (in million DM)*

Budgets	as of March 31,	
	1951	1953
1 Federation	1.157	1.488
2 Laender	674	1.070
3 Local authorities, municipalities, rural authorities and associations of authorities	745	1.730
4 Federal Railways	1.733	1.999
5 Federal Postal Service	288	774
6 Other budgets	169	310
Total indebtedness	4.766	7.371

In spite of a considerable increase, it has been possible to consolidate the indebtedness to a large extent. The share of short-term public debts (up

to six months) was also successfully reduced to roughly 25% at the end of the Fiscal Year 1952/53.

### *Concluding Remarks*

The financial policy of the Federal Republic has attained its most important objective: to keep the finances in order and to protect the currency. The improvement of conditions was accomplished without ruining the purchasing power of the currency and without any risky experiments. German fiscal policy has had to walk a perilous path between precipices; but it has overcome the dangers and contributed to the convalescence of the German people. It is the task of the immediate future to make of a nation on the road to recovery a fully healthy people.

### *I. Net Financial Requirements of Public Administrations*

(Federation, Laender, Local Authorities and Equalization of Burdens)  
(Billion DM)

Fiscal Year	Total	of which for the Federation	Total Expenditure of the Federation
1949 (actual)	25.35	1.59	—
1950 (actual)	27.32	11.61	14.68
1951 (actual)	36.05	18.37	20.87
1952 (preliminary)	39.60	20.45	23.10
1953 (estimate)	46.35	24.26	27.87
1954 (estimate)	—	—	27.11

### *II. Occupation Costs and Expenditure consequent upon the Occupation (including Berlin)*

(Balance of Receipts and Expenses)  
(Million RM/DM)

Fiscal Year	Total	of which for Berlin
1945	2,190	162
1946	5,395	322
1947	5,865	339
1948	4,998	404
1949	4,301	233
1950	4,746	176
1951	7,874	198
1952	7,820	173
1953 (total demand)	9,600	170

## **SOCIAL BURDENS AND SOCIAL WELFARE**

It has been a task of special urgency for the social legislation of the Federal Republic to give to the millions of people in Western Germany who were in distress, such as expellees, refugees, war victims, seriously disabled persons and those who have been unemployed for a long period of time, the full measure of social security which could be achieved under the existing economic and financial circumstances. It has been possible to solve the above problems to the extent that the unemployed and those unable to earn a living are now protected from the most pressing need.

### *The German Social Insurance System*

The principle of compulsory insurance is applied (either generally or up to a certain income limit) to all existing branches of the social insurance system, i.e.,

- sickness insurance
- workmen's compensation (insurance against industrial accidents and diseases)
- worker's disability insurance
- unemployment insurance
- old-age insurance for manual tradesmen.

*Robert Stewart, Lord Viscount Castlereagh*  
Photo-etching from an engraving

As an example, in the sickness insurance system, all workers are subject to compulsory insurance, but salaried employees at present only up to an annual income of 6,000 DM. With the exception of workmen's compensation (accident insurance), where the employers bear all the costs, the social insurance system is financed by contributions from employers and employees and through public subsidies. Since 1949 the employee's contribution has amounted to roughly 10% of the gross salary; that of the employer — with the exception of workmen's compensation payments — comes to about the same, while the amount of public subsidies has risen from year to year since the inception of the Federal Republic.

It is easy to realize why there has been a demand for increased public aid. Through war and inflation, the old-age insurance funds, which represent the most important sector of the social aid system (apart from benefits for the unemployed) and include worker's disability insurance, salaried employees' insurance and miner's insurance, have lost their assets, which, before 1939, had reached a total of more than 13 billion Marks. Under the Military Government currency reform legislation of June 1948, the social insurance funds had to continue to make their payments in the ratio of 1 : 1. They could do so only from current contributions. In addition to this, higher benefit rates — made inevitable by the loss of private savings, increased prices, and the rise in the cost of living — were demanded.

#### *Insurance Benefits*

In the course of the last four years, benefits of the worker's disability insurance have been increased on the average by 80%, and retirement pensions of the salaried employees' insurance by 56%. At present, the average monthly disability pension comes to 75 DM, and the average retirement pension to 115 DM. Pensions accruing during a normal working life are considerably higher and depend upon the duration and amount of contributions.

The total number of pensions being paid out at present under disability insurance is 4.2 million, under salaried employees' insurance roughly 1.2 million, and under miner's insurance 610,000.

In the fiscal year 1953, subsidies of the Federal Government to the social insurance system came to about 2.6 billion DM.

#### *Unemployment Insurance*

In 1951 and 1953, the situation of the unemployed was improved by two increases of unemployment insurance benefit rates and unemployment welfare rates. The unemployment insurance benefits which, in general, are granted for the duration of six months, are financed by equal contributions from employers and employees, who each pay 2% of the gross wages. The Federation, on the other hand, bears the costs of the welfare benefits which are

granted to needy persons in the case of unemployment of long duration. During the last four years, this expenditure has reached an average of one billion DM per year.

#### *Federal Maintenance Act for War Victims, Dependents and Surviving Dependents*

A particularly grave chapter of post-war developments in social policy is the maintenance of the victims of war. In accordance with the demands of the Occupying Powers, these received no public assistance at all during the first years after the collapse.

Beginning in 1947, the Laender gradually enacted legislation on maintenance benefits for this category of persons.

The Federal Maintenance Act for War Victims, passed in 1950, and repeatedly improved and supplemented since, implemented, to the best of the country's ability, the declaration of the Federal Government on September 20, 1949, in which the latter had promised "that adequate maintenance benefits would be granted to all war invalids unable to earn a living, and to their surviving dependents". In summer 1953, more than 4.5 million persons had claim to such benefits (war invalids, widows, orphans, needy parents). It is estimated that the cost, which is borne by the Federation, will pass the 3.5 billion DM level during the fiscal year 1953/54.

The main emphasis has been laid on medical treatment and all measures connected therewith which are designed to restore the injured person to health and facilitate his re-integration into professional and economic life. A number of special hospitals and sanatoria (19 at the end of 1952) serve this purpose. The benefits granted fall into two categories: the so-called "basic pensions" and the "supplementary maintenance benefits". A "basic pension" is paid to any person who has suffered physical or mental injury which has reduced his earning capacity by 30% or more, regardless of any other sources of income he may have. It begins at 15 DM monthly and increases up to 75 DM for persons who have lost all capacity to earn. The payment of the "supplementary maintenance benefits" to those whose earning capacity has been reduced by 50% or more depends on the existence of distress. It is, therefore, granted only if the necessary means of subsistence cannot otherwise be secured.

#### *Federal Grants for Social Purposes*

In the fiscal year 1950, the Federal "social budget" in the narrower sense amounted to roughly 5.2 billion DM. Its main appropriations comprise the subsidies to the social insurance system, the maintenance benefits for war victims, and unemployment insurance. The extent of the appropriations, which were increased to approximately 8.4 billion DM in the fiscal year 1953, prove that every effort is being made to assist, within the

Royal Highness a visit ; and, on the ensuing day, they received her Royal Highness's invitation to dine with her on that day se'nnight. It was accepted with pleasure ; but, only about an hour previous to the appointed time for dinner, an apology was sent, asking pardon for the delay, which was said to be unavoidable, as the impediments arose from the commands of the regent, which had only been communicated to them a few hours before. Upon Mr. Canning's next visit to the princess, he explained the reason of this shameful conduct by saying "that Colonel M'Mahon desired, as a compliment, they would dine at Carlton House that day, and expressed an apology for the shortness of the invitation, as the regent had some days before given him his instructions to invite them, but that he (the colonel) had forgotten it in the hurry of business. Now," added Mr. Canning, "I know this story to be an invention ; for it was only on the very morning of the day appointed by your Royal Highness that a brother of the regent heard of their intended visit, and informed him of it ; and the prince then commanded M'Mahon to invite the party to dine at Carlton House, which they could not refuse, as etiquette would forbid their accepting any engagement in preference to that of the regent." Was there ever a more artful and vindictive piece of business concocted ? How worthy was the master of such a scheming servant as M'Mahon !



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*"Law on the Reorganization  
of the Relationship between Employers and Employees  
in Private Enterprises."*

The above Law of October 11, 1952 regulates, in general, the right of co-determination of employees in private economy. The Law provides the nucleus for the development of the new social order and may become of epoch-making importance in social progress.

In the chapter, "Co-operation and Co-determination of Employees", the fundamental idea of the Law is expressed in the following words:

"Within the scope of existing collective agreements, employer and works council shall co-operate, in mutual confidence and collaboration, with the trade unions and employers' associations represented in the enterprise, for the good of the enterprise and its employees and in consideration of the common weal" (Art. 49).

The works council, elected by the employees of the enterprise from among their own ranks by secret and direct vote, is the body through which these employees exercise their right of co-operation with the employer in accordance with the principles of the law on co-determination. Where an undertaking consists of several enterprises, a joint works council may be established by resolution of the separate councils.

The works council holds meetings — in principle, during working time — and adopts resolutions by majority vote. Membership of the council is honorary, and members are pledged not to disclose business secrets nor to derive personal benefit from the performance of their duties. Nor must they suffer any disadvantage on account of their functions. Expenses incurred in connection with the activities of the council and its election are borne by the employer.

The rights of co-operation and co-determination vary in form and degree and are graded accordingly.

The works council has a direct right of co-determination in the following social matters: fixing of the daily working hours, rest periods, time and place for payment of wages, drawing up of the vacation schedule, implementation of vocational training, administration of welfare institutions, settlement of questions pertaining to the orderly running of the enterprise and to the conduct of the employees, fixing of wage rates for contract and piece-work, establishment of principles for payment of wages, and introduction of new methods for such payment. Where no agreement can be reached on these questions, a mediation board in the enterprise renders a decision which is binding on all parties. Furthermore, the works council must see to it that measures are taken to avoid accidents and dangers to health, and must be consulted on the introduction and testing of safety equipment

and participate in the investigation of accidents. In personnel matters, such as employment, new assignment and transfer, the works council is authorized to prevent unlawful and unfair measures on the part of an employer. In case of termination of employment, the works council must first be consulted. Disputes in personnel matters are decided by the labor courts.

*Co-determination in Economic Matters*

*The right of co-determination in economic matters, which has always been a chief topic of discussion, relates to questions of changes in the operation of the enterprise which might entail grave disadvantages for the personnel employed.* The following measures are considered operational changes: reduction, closing down or removal of the entire enterprise or essential parts of it, merger with other enterprises, and basic changes in the purpose of the enterprise or its installations, unless such measures are obviously the result of a change in the market situation.

In case of differences of opinion in these matters, a mediation board in the enterprise, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the employees and of management, will endeavor to bring about an agreement. Where an employer does not comply with the agreement or with a mediation proposal, the labor court may hand down a judgment requiring him to pay an adequate compensation to employees who have lost their jobs on account of such non-compliance.

An employer regularly employing more than 100 persons is furthermore required to establish an *economic committee*, half of whose members are appointed by himself, while the other half are elected by the works council. The economic committee may demand information regarding the economic affairs of the enterprise. The competence of the committee extends, *inter alia*, to the discussion of manufacture and working methods, production and marketing programs, the economic position of the enterprise, the production and marketing situation and other operations essentially affecting the interests of the employees. The annual balance sheet must be explained to the economic committee in the presence of the works council.

At least once every three months the employer, the works council and the economic committee must, at a joint meeting, inform the employees of the situation and development of the enterprise.

*Employees may further exert a strong influence on the business of the enterprise by virtue of their one-third representation in the supervisory boards of joint-stock companies.* The employee's representatives are chosen in general, equal, direct and secret elections by all employees entitled to vote and are on an equal footing with the other members of the supervisory board.

justice ; this, I hope, will not be permitted in the event of my being queen. I name this to satisfy you, as my friends, that whenever I can return to this country with safety to my child, and honour to my few zealous friends, I shall not lose one moment in answering the summons."

On the 4th of June Lord Castlereagh moved, in the committee of the House, that fifty thousand pounds be annually paid to her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales. Mr. Whitbread offered some very correct and spirited remarks upon the subject, and the motion was agreed to. The princess, in the most generous manner, wrote to the Speaker on the 5th, declining to receive more than thirty-five thousand, adding, as a reason for this, her dislike to increase the already heavy burdens imposed upon the nation.

The ill-natured manner in which this most honourable act was received is best explained in the words of Lord Castlereagh, who, on the 8th, called the attention of the House to the letter of the princess, and concluded by saying, "It is not my duty to vote the public money to a subject who is not inclined to receive it." Her Royal Highness certainly was not much indebted to Lord Castlereagh for his very elegant and noble mention of her name, thus made ; and the most dim-sighted person might have easily seen that "if the vessel came safe to shore," a marquissate would be the reward of the pilot.





## DR. LUDGER WESTRICK

*Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry of Economics*

Dr. Ludger Westrick was born in 1874, in Münster, Westphalia. He studied Jurisprudence and the economic sciences and, after graduation as a Doctor of Law, worked as legal consultant to industry, and as an expert. As head of the sales department of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, he spent a great part of the year 1933 in the Ruhr area. In addition, he was chairman of the board of directors and general director of the Vereinigte Aluminium Werke, Berlin. After the war, Dr. Westrick was elected, in 1948, to the directing board of the Deutsche Rohstoffgesellschaft, and later became director of the firm formerly known as Metallwerke. At the end of March 1951, he was made Head of the State Secretariat in the Federal Ministry of Economics. In this capacity he has made a decisive contribution to the restoration of economic life in the Federal Republic.

### *Special Legislation for the Coal and Steel Industry*

A special law was enacted in May 1951 for the coal and steel industry. It granted employees and their organizations still greater rights of co-determination than had been prescribed in the law for private industrial enterprises in general.

This special law had its origin in an agreement reached between the trade unions and the British Occupying Power in the course of the deconcentration of the enterprises of the iron and steel industry listed in Allied High Commission Law No. 27, of May 16, 1950. Under this agreement, the supervisory board of the "deconcentrated enterprises", generally consisting of eleven persons, was to include four employees' representatives and one representative of the public authorities who had to enjoy the particular confidence of the trade unions. In addition, a "labor director" was to be chosen as a member of the board of managers (Vorstand) of the newly-formed companies. Having the same rights as the other members of the board, he was to deal, in particular, with issues in the field of labor, social, and personnel policy.

The German law of May 1951 adjusted these co-determination provisions to the requirements of German corporation law. As a general rule, enterprises of the coal mining and iron and steel producing industries employing 1000 persons or

more must set up a supervisory board of 11 members, consisting of four members from among the stockholders, four representatives of the employees and their organizations (one manual worker, one clerical worker and two representatives of the key organizations) and three other members. The "other members" must be able to prove a certain degree of personal and economic independence.

One of the three "other" members is appointed after nomination by the employees, the second one by the stockholders at their own discretion, and the third (the so-called eleventh member) by a special procedure designed to bring about the agreement of stockholders and employees on the choice made. Under the law of May 1951, a "labor director" is a member of the board of managers with rights equal to those of the other members. Practical experience of the functioning of co-determination is still limited but has nevertheless shown that, despite some apprehensions on both sides, the two social partners are endeavoring to implement the law loyally.

### *Collective Labor Law*

A special role in the new German social order is played by the collective labor law. This enactment existed prior to 1933, but the conclusion of collective agreements was rendered impossible after that

do I remember the time when my dear father, the Duke of Brunswick, entered my library (holding in his hand a letter), saying, 'Caroline, my love, I desire you will give your attention to the request of your most excellent uncle, the King of England, and, without any demur, engage to marry your cousin George. He is undoubtedly the most elegant man and the most accomplished gentleman in Europe. Very unfortunately, this prince has been captivated by the many beautiful ladies surrounding the court; but although he may have committed himself in formal engagements, yet the prince is the most ready, desirous, and expectant suppliant for your hand!' I started, and exclaimed, 'What, my dear sire?' The sequel, however, is sufficient. I came to England. I was received heroically by the people, flatteringly by the persons deputed to attend me, and sarcastically by the queen, my aunt; but most pleasantly by the king, my uncle, and the prince, my destined husband. After my marriage with the prince, your father, I soon had occasion to regret my change of situation. However, I strove to conceal my disappointment and chagrin, and appeared as lively as if I had no cause for regret. Speedily after my marriage, I was informed that the prince was not my legal husband; that, some time previous to our marriage, he had been united to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and therefore our engagement was null and void. I opened the sorrows of my heart

date as a result of the dissolution of the trade unions and of the employers' associations by Hitler. The former agreements, concluded by collective bargaining, were replaced by wages and hours regulations dictated by the government.

After Germany's collapse, trade unions and employers' associations were re-established. The *Law on Collective Agreements* of April 9, 1949, which was at first only applicable in the British and U.S. Zones but was later extended to the whole territory of the Federal Republic, constituted the new legal basis for the conclusion of collective agreements. The new legislation on collective bargaining has taken as model pertinent legislation applicable in Germany prior to 1933, developing it, however, to make it more progressive.

*A salient feature of the new concept is that an attempt is made to dispense with government intervention whenever the social partners, i.e., the trade unions and the employers' associations, are able to bring about the necessary social adjustment by their own efforts.*

Thus, it is exclusively left to the social partners in free negotiation to take decisions in the field of *wages policy*, the most important province of labor law. The Government confines itself to registering the collective agreements concluded without exercising any controlling or supervisory functions. Only in cases where it is contemplated extending a collective agreement to third parties and making it generally applicable do governmental agencies take action. But in this event, too, the social partners retain a great measure of self-determination in that they co-operate in the committees which deliberate on the declaration of general applicability of the collective agreement in question.

There is today no *compulsory arbitration* of labor disputes in the Federal Republic. To be sure, the idea of creating a national arbitration code was considered; however, when the social partners declared their willingness to settle this issue by inserting agreed arbitration clauses into the collective agreements, state intervention was provisionally dispensed with in this matter also. It is, of course, evident that the State can maintain this attitude only as long as the parties to collective agreements are guided not by their exclusive self-interest alone, but also by the requirements of the common weal.

#### *Protection against Dismissal*

*Free choice of the place of work* is one of the basic rights incorporated in the Constitution of the Federal Republic. National labor service and any other compulsory work are incompatible with the provisions of the Constitution. *In addition, an employee is protected against the loss of his job to such an extent that, under normal conditions, it is practically im-*

*possible to dismiss him.* For the "Law concerning Protection against Dismissal", of August 1951, provides that any "socially unjustified" notice of termination is without legal effect. A notice is socially unjustified if it is not necessitated by reasons originating in the person or conduct of the employee (neglect of duty, poor performance, unreliability or disturbance of the peaceful working of the enterprise) or by particular operational circumstances (lack of orders, reorganization, restrictions imposed on production, or the like). The law applies only to employees who have worked in the enterprise without interruption for at least six months and have completed their 20th year.

It does not apply to small enterprises normally having five employees or less (not including apprentices). This general protection against unjust dismissal is supplemented by special regulations pertaining to certain categories of persons, e.g., elderly employees, seriously disabled persons, expectant mothers, etc.

#### *Protection of Motherhood*

According to Article 6, para 4, of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic, every mother is entitled to the protection and care of the community. Mothers who work for a wage or salary receive this protection largely by virtue of the "*Law for the Protection of Gainfully Employed Mothers*", enacted in 1952. This law is to protect expectant and nursing mothers against injuries which they might suffer in the course of their work. Accordingly, the law prohibits the performance by such women of strenuous or unsuitable tasks, such as the lifting and carrying of heavy loads. Any employment for six weeks prior to and six weeks after confinement, in some cases even for a longer period, is prohibited. In all these cases, the female workers continue to receive their wages either from the health insurance fund, if they are subject to statutory compulsory sickness insurance, or from the employer, if they are not so insured. Thus their livelihood is fully assured. During the entire time of pregnancy and for four months after confinement, women are protected against the loss of their jobs, as no employer can dismiss them during that period.

The edifice of the new social order is, of course, not yet completed. What has been achieved so far, and described here in its most salient features, proves that the new order is being built in the spirit of democracy and social justice. In some respects the social order which existed in Germany prior to the Hitler dictatorship was suitable as a basis for the new construction. However, it needed to be developed, in view of the fact that new conditions, changes in the social structure, and the altered economic situation called for the solution of new problems.

our confidential messenger is waiting, I must conclude by subscribing myself

“Your very affectionate mother,

“CAROLINE.”

The persecuted wife of the heir-apparent now prepared to leave England. Her Royal Highness went to Worthing on the 2d of August, and on the 9th embarked for the Continent, with a heart heavily charged with the most poignant feelings.

The evening of her departure was spent in rioting and drunkenness by the inhabitants of Carlton House, as they had now attained a portion of their dishonourable object, and, in a great measure, relied upon final success. The entertainments given at this period by the “unparalleled prince” were of the most dazzling and costly description. The massive services of richly chased gold, and the viands served upon them, in addition to every luxurious appendage, were daily superseded by others, still more rare and expensive than the preceding ones. Hundreds of thousands were thus lavished on useless pomp, while, perhaps, a poor tradesman, who had received the honour of an order by command of the prince, and had borrowed the larger portion of the means to enable him to execute it, solicited, in the most humble manner, a portion of his debt; but, alas! solicited in vain; and, after daring to press his destitute and ruined condition several times, is probably

# THE ACCOMMODATION OF EXPELLEES AND REFUGEES

Owing to the influx of expellees and refugees during the years from 1939 to 1953, the population of the territory constituting the Federal Republic of Germany, which was 39 millions in 1945, added a further 10.3 millions by 1952 — an increase about one-fifth greater than the population of the entire Australian continent.

The newcomers include: approximately 200,000 displaced foreigners under the authority of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; refugees who have transferred their residence from the Soviet Zone to the Federal Republic since 1945 because of political pressure, and whose present total of 1.9 million is steadily increasing; and, finally, 8.2 million expellees who, after 1945, were forcibly driven from their native soil and transported to Western Germany. About two-thirds of these came from the German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line, at present under Polish or Russian administration. The remaining third are former citizens of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and other eastern European states, who, because of their German origin, were expelled in accordance with the decisions reached in the Potsdam Agreement in the summer of 1945.

This increase of the population, which was very considerable during the first years and still continues today, has confronted the Federal Republic and the Laender with extremely difficult problems.

## *Total Amount of Relief Funds Granted*

*The total funds made available by the Federal Republic to solve the expellee problem amounted to approximately 25.8 billion DM by the end of 1952. This sum was raised partly by utilizing budget funds of the Laender and the Federal Republic and partly by means of specific legislation, such as, for instance, the General Law on Equalization of Burdens, which was discussed in the section on finance.*

Despite the vast sums already spent, the amounts being disbursed in relief for these people show no tendency to decline — quite apart from the influx of new refugees. On the contrary, they continue to increase, since certain urgent tasks could not be adequately financed in the past and still cannot be fully tackled even today.

At the rate of the first six months of 1953 (equal to an annual immigration of 360,000 persons), the influx of new refugees will necessitate annually about 100,000 new dwelling places at 14,000 DM each — a total of 1.4 billion DM — and 100,000 new jobs requiring an average capital investment of 10,000 DM, — a total of 1 billion DM. To all this must be added an amount of 400,000 DM for maintenance and relief.

The Federal Republic has made the utmost efforts to solve the expellee and refugee problem. It has

done its best to restore the faith of these people in political freedom and to accord to them a social status under which they no longer need consider themselves merely as the recipients of charity but can earn their livelihood themselves. There are, however, certain limits to the capacity of a country.

## *Recognition on the Part of Foreign Countries*

The ECA Committee for Refugee Problems, of which Mr. H. Christian Sonne is the Chairman, in its report of March 21, 1951, mentioned the "Herculean task" of the incorporation of the refugees, which Germany had undertaken with "courage, skill, and genuine compassion", but emphasized, on the other hand, that "Western Germany could not make further progress unless her internal disease, the problem of the refugees, were successfully cured."

The objectives outlined in the ECA report, and the various ways to achieve them, were acknowledged by the German Government. Many of the suggestions were accepted, others had to be abandoned on account of financial difficulties.

Elsewhere, too, the problem of the expellees and refugees has found international recognition. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, in September, 1951, declared that Germany's expellee problem, because of its consequences, was a matter of concern for the entire free world. Mr. Draper, in his comment on the German defense contribution, stated that the refugee problem would be taken into due consideration whatever happened. The talks between President Eisenhower and Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer, in the spring of 1953, resulted in the recognition of an international obligation towards Germany on account of the burdens she has to bear in this field.

## *A Solution by Emigration?*

The idea of helping the expellees and refugees to find a new means of earning a livelihood by emigration sprang naturally to mind, and, thanks to the co-operation of the Western countries, advantage has been taken of this possibility. The opportunities offering to Germans willing to leave their homeland, have, however, proved insufficient for emigration to be likely to constitute a decisive contribution to the solution of the problem. In 1952, about 80,000 Germans emigrated, of whom about half were expellees and refugees. But in the same year, more than 200,000 new refugees arrived from the Soviet Zone of Occupation alone. *Thus emigration cannot be considered a solution of the problem.*

Emigration most often fails for financial reasons. In this respect, the "Sonne Report" states that "emigration on a scale sufficiently large to reduce Western Germany's overpopulation considerably

Royal Highness by those persons who were independent of the royal family and the government.

Upon her Majesty's return to Windsor, she found the king something improved in natural spirits, but desirous not to be troubled with unnecessary visitors. This slight improvement was, however, but of short duration ; for, in a few days afterward, this distressingly afflicted sovereign relapsed into insensibility, and frequently became very boisterous in his conduct.

The amount required for this year's service was upwards of one hundred and sixteen millions, twenty-seven of which were raised by loans.

is not to be expected for the time being. The costs of settling an emigrant, including the expenses to be paid by the country of destination, are estimated at \$ 2,500 at least. This means that an amount of \$ 2.5 billion, or more than 10 billion DM would have to be made available to place 1 million emigrants. This fact alone excludes the possibility of resorting to such a solution. Furthermore, it can be assumed that any emigration is likely to be balanced to a great extent by the continuous influx of new refugees from the East."

#### *Social Aid*

The authorities responsible for the social services in Germany protect expellees and refugees from extreme distress. In the first place, they support those unable to work, until their pension and other rights have been ascertained. This means an additional strain on public budgets, despite the greatly appreciated aid given by German and foreign welfare institutions. No less than 1.2 million expellees (in round figures) are legally entitled to draw current relief payments under the Equalization of Burdens Law. To these must be added 439,000 refugees and other beneficiaries.

During the coming years, it is likely that social expenditures for expellees and refugees will increase even more. These can, at best, only be borne if there is a constant and vigorous increase in economic activity. If, on the contrary, economic activity declines, they might prove a source of crisis, since funds could not be made available if tax yields were falling as a result of a business recession. These social expenditures can only be reduced if it becomes possible to accommodate the refugees and place them in jobs. *Such a productive form of support is, of course, to be preferred to pure welfare, but its implementation calls for substantial funds.*

#### *Productive Refugee Policy and Employment*

During the first years after the war, this productive refugee policy was greatly facilitated by the circumstance that many refugees found employment for their skills in agriculture and industry by filling the gaps left in the west German economy by millions who had died and other millions who were still prisoners.

The census of September 13, 1930, revealed that, of the 3.1 million employable persons among the 7.9 million expellees, 2.6 million were then already employed. The number of unemployed amounted to half a million, i.e., 85 per cent were employed and 16 per cent unemployed. Since then, the number of workless expellees has further decreased, but the percentage of unemployed in their ranks is still twice as high as among the indigenous population. Moreover, many of the expellees now in employment have unfortunately not found jobs in keeping with their abilities: a fact that not only represents serious disadvantage as far

as they themselves are concerned, but also as regards Germany's economy, the upward trend of which essentially depends on the possibility for the individual to develop his potentialities to the full.

According to an estimate of the Federal Finance Ministry made in 1949/50, the average wages tax paid amounted to 39,- DM per head in the case of expellees, compared to 180,- DM for the indigenous population. These figures confirm the fact that *the vast majority of expellees had not found suitable jobs, but that they were willing — as indeed they had to be — to accept for the time being the least remunerative positions in the labor market.*

#### *The Lot of Independent Persons*

Of those expellees who were economically independent in their former places of residence, more than one-third have again found an opportunity to pursue an independent occupation. The least satisfactory position is that of the farmers. Only few more than 40,000 of about 300,000 expelled farmers have again come into possession of land — some to them by taking over newly-created homesteads, others by leasing farms.

A major obstacle to these efforts is the high cost involved. On an average, at least 50,000 DM are needed to set up a farm, and 17,000 DM to start a small holding affording part-time employment. These sums do not include the initial costs of opening up the settlement areas. Germany will, at best, be able to raise 500 million DM for the provision of new farms. Even if private financial means are used, and priority given — as is the intention — to small part-time holdings, it is hardly likely that the annual program will exceed 25,000 of these.

It is even more difficult to obtain the necessary land. Owing to the structure of the west German agricultural system, an agrarian reform on the Finnish pattern or on that of the former German settlements in the East, will hardly be possible. In order to settle, one must acquire land by purchase, lease, marriage into a farming family, or by bringing waste fields under the plow. Nor should it be forgotten, in considering all this, that a sizeable amount of property is required for the Occupation Forces and for purposes in connection with the defense effort.

Credits are also granted for the reactivation of firms which formerly operated in the territories beyond the Iron Curtain and for the creation of new jobs for refugees in other enterprises. By employing the several hundred million DM thus made available, it was possible to create 35,000 new jobs under various programs up to December 31, 1952. For these operations, a specially established Expellees Bank grants credits at low rates of interest and supervises the use and repayment of the loans. Other credits amounting to approximately one billion DM have been made available to expellees and refugees by the bank established for the

snatching up the letter a second time, she said, "It is impossible such things can be permitted; we need money too much in our own family to squander it upon these miserably poor connections." This indignant lady quite forgot, or did not wish to remember, her own origin, and the great wealth she had brought to this country! Ere this self-important personage had said so much she should have called to mind the many noble acts by which she had been distinguished above all other royal ladies, and ought to have reflected how many thousands had suffered privations and want to permit her royal self and family to live in splendour, and how many had been privately disposed of to satisfy her inordinate ambition and insatiable thirst for power!

Her Majesty had also another mortification to endure in the marriage of her hopeful son, the Duke of Cumberland, with the Princess of Salms. Lord Castlereagh, always happy to take from the people, had the audacity to propose an additional grant to the Duke of Cumberland upon his alliance with a lady so congenial to the taste and talents of his Royal Highness. The House of Commons, however, opposed this grant, and several members made the most severe though just remarks upon the character of Ernest Augustus on this occasion.

"Mr. R. Gordon rose, and declared that he could not reconcile it to his sense of duty to allow this motion to pass with a silent vote against



implementation of the General Law on Equalization of Burdens (Lastenausgleichsbank). Thanks to these and other measures, about 7,000 small and medium industrial enterprises, 59,000 craftsmen's shops, and 50,000 businesses engaged in trade and transport have been set up. Of the total number of 49,969 industrial enterprises in the Federal Republic employing more than ten persons, 2,420, with 127,617 employees, are now owned by refugees. About 20,000 expellees are again occupied in the liberal professions.

It has not so far been possible to utilize the capacity and experience of the expellees and refugees in all fields of economic activity. Thus, the outstanding achievements of farmers from Eastern Germany in cattle-breeding and plant cultivation could be put to productive use only in exceptional cases, because it is impossible to set up the necessary enterprises for these people. In the field of industrial production and craftsmanship, on the other hand, it has proved possible to re-establish in the Federal Republic many firms formerly located in the areas beyond the Iron Curtain, and reputed both in Germany and abroad for the quality of their goods. Thus, the well-known former Czechoslovakian export industry, which produced glass articles, china, toys, artificial jewelry, musical instruments, etc., has made a promising new start in Western Germany.

## HOUSING AND HOUSING POLICY

As a result of air bombing and ground fighting during the the second World War, more than 2.5 million housing units within the territory now constituting the Federal Republic were completely destroyed or so heavily damaged as to be uninhabitable. This meant a loss of more than one-fifth of the total housing available in 1939, whereas, according to a survey by OEEC, Holland and Italy lost 4 per cent, France 3 per cent, Belgium and Great Britain approximately 2 per cent of their pre-war housing space. In addition to this, a further 2.5 million housing units are required for the accommodation of refugees, and a million to cover accrued demand and current requirements for newly-married couples, etc.

*In 1945 the shortage therefore amounted to about 5 million housing units. 2.5 million units have been built in the meantime, 1.4 million of them during the past three years. Thus the present shortage still totals approximately 3.5 million units.* This figure very clearly expresses the extent of the present housing emergency and the distress of those who must live in air-raid shelters, basements, barracks, and other temporary quarters.

### *Beginning of Building Activities*

From 1949/50 onwards, thanks to the joint efforts of all those in Federal, Laender, and local government administrations endowed with responsibility

### *The Erection of Houses — the Primary Question*

Productive aid to refugees presupposes, above all, the provision of new dwelling space. The expellees at first found refuge in the areas where accommodation could be provided for them, that is to say in the Laender Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bavaria. However, it is essential that these people be settled in the big cities of the industrial areas. But, although these offer possibilities of employment, they are not able to provide the necessary housing facilities. This aim can only be achieved, if new houses are built. After all, the expellees and refugees are the ones who suffer most by the housing shortage in Germany. According to housing statistics of September 1950, the number of expellee families was 2.6 million, of whom, by that time, not even one-fourth had found homes of their own. During the period from 1949 to the end of 1952, a total of approximately 350,000 dwellings were built for expellees. If we assume that, on an average, there are four persons in each family, this means that about 1.4 million expellees have obtained new living quarters. Furthermore, it is estimated, that about 2 million expellees have been housed in approximately 500,000 old dwelling places allocated to them. It will be possible to consider the problem of housing the expellees and refugees as solved when another 900,000 dwellings have been placed at their disposal.

for the erection of houses, the help of commercial banks, savings-banks, and insurance companies, and, in particular, the initiative of the individual citizen, building could once more be resumed after having been in a state of stagnation during the post-war years. Funds from the American ERP-Program allotted to the building of houses constituted an initial aid which must not be underestimated. In 1949 a total of only about 215,000 housing units had been completed, mainly by rebuilding and repair. In 1950 more than 360,000 units were added, in 1951, over 430,000 and in 1952, approximately 440,000. In 1953 the total reached 515,000.

### *The Results*

Thus, by the end of 1953, more than 1.7 million new housing units had been built since the Federal Republic was founded, and approximately 2 million since currency reform. As about 4 people on an average move into every new housing unit, approximately 8 million people, i.e., one-sixth of the population of the Federal Republic, have, in the last few years, obtained dwellings which, however modest in size and furnishing, are their own.

The significance of this admirable joint achievement becomes particularly evident, if we bear in mind the fact that less than 200,000 housing units were constructed annually within the territory of what

was called fashionable society without hearing the same feeling of disrespect expressed."

"Lord Nugent disapproved of the grant proposed, with reference to the time in which, to the manner in which, and to the person for whom, the grant was proposed. He differed with his honourable friend who spoke first in the debate, not in his vote, but in that he did not admit public rumour to influence his vote. For his own part, he voted mainly on evidence which could come before the House only by public rumour, — public rumour uncontradicted and unencountered."

"Lord A. Hamilton thought the House was called upon to consider the merits of the individual before it assented to this proposition, unless it were assumed that, upon the marriage of any branch of the royal family, the House was bound to grant an additional allowance without any consideration of the nature of the marriage, which was a proposition too preposterous to be maintained. The intimation, too, which he understood to be authentic, that it was the intention of the Duke of Cumberland not to reside in this country, furnished another argument against the present measure; nay, it was stated that the grant was brought forward upon the settled condition that his Royal Highness should fix his residence elsewhere."

"Mr. Methuen contended that the House ought to show by its vote that night that it was not

is today the Federal Republic in the years 1928 and 1929, when housebuilding in Germany broke all records. During the past three years, as many housing units have been built in Western Germany as during the whole nine years between the first monetary reform of 1924 and 1932.

### *The Legal Basis*

*This success could not have been achieved without the legislation on housing policy, which provided many of the legal pre-conditions for the building of houses in the Federal Republic. The basis of general policy is the first "Wohnungsbaugesetz" (Housing Law) of April 24, 1950, which was passed unanimously by the Bundestag (Federal Diet). The basic idea underlying this law is a differentiation between three types of construction: social housing, supported by the state; housing on which tax reductions are granted; privately-financed housing. Social housing, promoted with state funds, is intended in the first place for the masses of the population with limited income. The Federal Republic, the Laender and local authorities help to finance this building by granting loans at a low rate of interest. The size of dwellings in this category is limited, and the rent must not exceed certain standard limits based on a maximum of 1.— DM per sq. meter (10.75 sq. feet) per month, and, in exceptional cases, of 1.10 DM. According to an amendment passed in the summer of 1953, this maximum may be raised by up to 30%, to 1.43 DM per sq. meter per month, if certain requirements (quality and location of the apartment) are met. These apartments are allotted to users by the official housing offices, and the tenants are legally protected. All persons wishing to build who fulfill the requirements of public-aided social housing are on the same footing and equally entitled to receive grants from public funds.*

No public money is allotted for the building of houses of the second category, but tax reductions of various kinds are granted. This kind of housing is subject to certain restrictions with regard to dwelling space, although these are not as rigid as for houses built with public funds. Within certain limits, the rent must not exceed the so-called "cost rent". The maximum rate is 1.50 DM per sq. meter per month. These housing units are exempt from control by the housing authorities; the legal protection of the tenants (Mieterschutz) is likewise less rigid as a general rule.

Privately-financed housing is carried out without the aid of public funds or tax reductions. Dwellings in this category are not subject to any restrictions whatsoever regarding size, amount of rent, and control by the housing authorities.

About 75% of the housing units built during recent years were publicly financed or aided, tax reductions were granted for more than 15%, and only the small remainder was privately financed.

### *Financing*

*A capital outlay of 14 billion DM was needed to finance the total of 1.2 million housing units built during the years 1950 to 1952. Money invested in the construction of houses amounted to approximately 3.8 billion DM in 1950, 4.7 billion in 1951, and 5.6 billion in 1952.*

These sums came from the capital market, public funds, and other sources. By capital market, we mean the savings banks, the mortgage bond institutions, private and public insurance companies, and building societies. About 1.6 billion DM were appropriated for housebuilding by these institutions in 1952. Public authorities, the budgets of the Federal Republic, the Laender, and the municipalities, as well as the Equalization of Burdens Fund and other agencies, in the same year appropriated 2.4 billion DM of public money in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans to aid social housing. Other funds of the most varied kinds, such as personal capital of intending builders, employers' credits and grants, sums provided by prospective householders from their own resources, lessees' credits or subsidies, etc. amounted to more than 1.6 million DM in 1952.

The financing of housing met with great difficulties in 1950—1952, mainly as a result of the Korean war. Saving faltered or even decreased, and for some time it became extremely difficult for the capital market to make available the necessary funds. In 1952 the situation of the financial institutions became easier as people again began to save, and deposits increased rapidly.

Building costs, which had gone up more than 25% between the beginning of the Korean war, in the middle of 1950, and the end of 1951, proved a great obstacle to housing construction. Since the spring of 1952, a general stabilization and even a slight decrease in costs has occurred.

### *Privately Owned Homes*

The Federal Government endeavors in every way to raise the percentage of private and individual property in its housing programs. Therefore, the construction of villas, small blocks of dwelling-houses, and apartments owned by those who live in them will be encouraged in the future even more than it has been so far. The architecture and installations of the houses erected will be improved. The resulting increase in construction costs can be made up for, to a large extent, by a more intensive application of rationalization and standardization and by taking advantage of the most recent results and discoveries in building research.

### *Ruins*

In addition to the above, efforts are being made to reconstruct houses on the destroyed sites in the cities. Of the 2.5 million housing units which were completely destroyed by the end of the war, one million have so far been reconstructed. Reconstruction of ruined houses in the cities is, however,

of some evil result to the princess than if she had remained in England. He, as well as many others, knew that assassination was of very frequent occurrence in Italy, and more than once expressed himself anxious to see the princess safely landed again on our shores. But this was not permitted; for, on the 6th of July, this patriot committed suicide while in a state of mental aberration. He fell a sacrifice to the intensity of his feelings upon several most important subjects.

As a man of firm principles, Mr. Whitbread was justly entitled to the praise of his countrymen. He never allowed himself to be bribed into dishonourable actions; and we cannot, therefore, attribute his unhappy end to the stings of conscience. The man whose life, or a principal portion of it, has been spent in furthering the wily schemes and treacherous plans of others may, very probably, in the midst of enjoying the reward of his villainous conduct, be struck by memory's faithful reflection, and, afraid of exposure, prefer instant death; but the patriot who loves his country, and has largely contributed to the defence of justice and liberty, finding his exertions of no available use, and sick at heart at the insults levied against the oppressed, may be driven by despair to rush into the presence of his Maker by his own act. This latter case, no doubt, applies to the patriot whose untimely end we are now lamenting. It was Mr. Whitbread's glory to be an English-

war, constitute a special task in themselves. They include the continuation of the canalization of the Main along the Wuerzburg—Bamberg stretch within the Rhine-Main waterways project for vessels of large tonnage, and of the Neckar from Heilbronn to Stuttgart, and resumption of canalization work on the Middle Weser.

These large hydraulic engineering projects also serve the power requirements of trade and industry. The construction of the Rhine-Main-Danube waterway not only opens up the Danube for larger vessels as far as Regensburg, but at the same time makes possible the building of a large hydroelectric power plant. In spring 1952, the "Donaukraftwerk Jochenstein Inc.," a German-Austrian stock company with its main office at Passau, was founded. At the Jochenstein, about 140 miles downstream from Passau, the company is building a dam and power plant which, with an annual output of about 1 billion kWh, will be the largest hydroelectric power installation on a river in Central Europe.

#### *Road Transportation*

The restoration of the third inland traffic component, i. e., road traffic, has made considerable strides in the course of recent years, despite the fact that the lion's share of the funds earmarked in the Federal budget for road construction have had to be spent on repair and current maintenance.

Since 1953, fulfillment of the demand for an enlargement of the Autobahn system has become feasible. The existing net has a length of 1500 miles, giving Germany first place in this respect among all countries. In the course of the first construction phase, it is planned to rebuild about 560 miles of Autobahn for German long-distance traffic and international transit traffic; for the second phase, the construction of a further 810 miles is envisaged. Germany is very much interested in plans for European co-operation in this domain, and one hears of a "Schuman Plan for highway traffic".

#### *The Merchant Fleet*

As regards ocean and air navigation Germany had to begin anew after the war and strive hard for her start in long drawn-out negotiations with the Allies. On September 30, 1949, i. e., four years after the capitulation, the small coastal fleet which had been left to Germany amounted to only 248,000 tons gross as against the 4.3 million of the German merchant marine before the war. By means of new construction, procurement from abroad and repair of salvaged wrecks, merchant tonnage was increased to 730,000 gross by January 1, 1951. By October 1, 1953, 2,036 ships of 1.8 million gross tonnage were flying the ensign of the Federal Republic. These figures do not include fishing boats and vessels not directly serving commercial ends. It has proved possible to rebuild a network of regular shipping lines. A very lively traffic is carried on by German shipping companies in the

Baltic to Denmark and Sweden, and in the North Sea to the British Isles, Norway and the west coast of Sweden. In the Atlantic, the lines to the Canaries, the USA, the Gulf ports and Central America were the first to be put into operation; soon after, regular connections with the ports of the east coast of South Africa were established.

Only modest progress could be made with passenger services, since the construction of fast passenger boats is very costly and since it was more immediately important to have a large number of freighters at sea. In order to make use of their experience and of the goodwill they traditionally enjoy on the North Atlantic run, the Hamburg American Line (HAPAG) and the North German Lloyd (Norddeutscher Lloyd) concluded arrangements with foreign shipping companies, i. e., the Home Lines and the Greek Line. Many freighters have a limited number of passenger cabins, which, as a rule, are very well appointed.

The German tanker fleet is also being rebuilt. At the beginning of 1953, its deadweight tonnage totaled about 200,000. By the end of 1955, when the ships now under construction have been completed, this figure will have risen to about 430,000.

After it had become possible to construct large vessels suitable for liner service, the old, reputable shipping companies again assumed their leading position and are steadily increasing the tonnage of their fleets by new launchings.

By mid-1953, the German Steamship Company, "Hansa", was operating 17 seagoing vessels of a total of 72,493 tons gross. In addition, it had under construction 8 ships of about 35,200 gross. The fleet of the Hamburg-American Line (HAPAG) consisted in mid-1953 of 14 vessels of altogether 60,000 gross, and there were another 11 ships totaling about 80,000 tons building in German yards. The North German Lloyd, Bremen, is operating its services with ships chartered from the Roland Line. It had available on September 1, 1953, more than 20 seagoing vessels of 76,523 tons gross. The German Africa Lines, Hamburg, are operating 8 ships of about 34,000 gross on the West, South and East Africa run. The fleet of the Hamburg-South American Steamship Company, Eggert and Amsinck, Hamburg, numbered 8 vessels of altogether about 57,000 tons gross in the fall of 1953. These ships have first class passenger accommodation. In 1954/55, four other freighters, each of 6,500 tons gross will join this fleet.

#### *Aviation*

So far it has only been possible to take preparatory measures with regard to the reconstruction of German civil aviation. Only after the ratification of the Bonn Convention on Relations between the Three Powers and the Federal Republic of Germany does the Federal Republic obtain full sovereignty in this field. Until that time, the construction, possession and operation of piston or jet planes, and even flying activities are prohibited.

The preparatory measures for the building of a new German civil aviation are manifold. On January 6, 1953, a "preparatory company", the "Gesellschaft für Luftverkehrsbedarf" (Aviation Procurement Company) was founded. On March 28, 1953, the law concerning the "Federal Office for Air Security" went into effect, and on July 1, 1953, the Allies restored to Germany the responsibility for air security. The "Aviation Procurement Company", which is to take over the functions of the former "Lufthansa", expects before a decade is out to be able to operate at a profit in the international passenger business with 20 to 24 planes. A beginning will be made on European routes with about 8 planes.

### *The Federal Postal System*

After the disaster of 1945, it was seen that 45% of all postal installations had been destroyed. However, only a few years later, the "Deutsche Bundespost" (The Federal Postal Service) was again carrying out to the full the functions of an up-to-date communication system such as is the appurtenance of all modern civilized nations.

The following figures reflect in detail the development of the inland mail service.

	Letter mail transported Millions	Ordinary parcel post packages transported Millions	Paying-in slips for postal check accounts and Money Orders Billions DM	Activity of Rail-road Mail Service in axle-km
1948	3,560.3	90.7	16.7	212 millions
1949	3,904.2	139.8	16.7	247 "
1950	4,181.0	171.8	20.4	278 "
1951	4,503.8	179.2	24.0	304 "
1952	4,958.0	194.8	27.0	317 "

### *Telecommunications Service*

In the matter of telecommunications, the Bundespost is endeavoring to meet public demands for an increase of connections and more expeditious handling of telephone calls. The final objective is an automatic service covering all Europe. Within a steadily expanding telephone network long-distance calls are more and more being made on a no-delay basis. Of course, these improvements call for sizable investments of which only a very small part can be covered from revenue. The advantage for the subscriber in being able to dial long-distance calls himself has resulted, on an average, in a 50% to 60% increase in the number of calls.

The installing of a world-wide cable net with connections to national nets is progressing. The application of the newest technical discoveries makes it possible to carry simultaneously 120 calls on each two-core cable, using the most modern carrier frequency equipment.

Efforts to link Germany to the overseas cable network again have also been crowned with success. The submarine cable Emden-Borkum-Vigo has been returned to German ownership and has been put into operation.

The Deutsche Bundespost has been able to make a considerable contribution to television by the establishment of a television transmission net (microwave transmission system). Further relay links are under construction, for example, that from Hamburg to Denmark, or are planned, for instance, Frankfurt-Stuttgart-Munich. In addition to these undertakings, the postal administration is very active in voice-radio transmission from vehicles and in ports, and numerous experts are engaged in the radio interference suppression service. The subscribers' teletype system has become indispensable in modern business life in Western Germany.

Below are some figures concerning telephone and telegraph communications.

	Local Calls Millions	Express Calls Millions	Total Millions	Long-distance calls to foreign countries Thousands	Long-distance calls from foreign countries Thousands
1948	1,561.0	43.0	250.5	592	228
1949	1,525.5	48.4	254.0	1,188	1,481
1950	1,705.5	54.5	278.8	1,987	2,178
1951	1,828.5	52.3	315.8	2,548	2,523
1952	1,952.4		403.9	2,658	2,655

	Telegrams delivered Thousands	to foreign countries Thousands	from foreign countries Thousands	Telephone call-stations per 100 inhabitants
1948	33,652	1,108	947	4.00
1949	26,575	2,093	1,851	4.48
1950	27,468	3,066	2,783	5.02
1951	26,442	3,390	3,325	5.61
1952	26,604	3,756	3,579	6.14

	Subscribers' teletype dialing apparatus	Subscribers teletype service in the Federal area (in fee-units) Thousands
1949	2,462	—
1950	3,979	92,162
1951	6,452	130,650
1952	9,045	176,134

Buildings are required to accommodate the technical equipment. Many of them were destroyed during the war; 700 have been rebuilt, and 150 newly constructed. The largest building under construction at the time of printing is the Telecommunications Building in Frankfurt on the Main.

The total number of Bundespost employees was 318,000 at the end of December 1952. 17,000 of them were newly engaged (officials in training, young postmen, apprentices), and 21,000 were postal agents. The number of inactive persons who are receiving pensions and similar payments from the Deutsche Bundespost included 133,600 retired officials, widows and orphans at the end of December 1953. For the benefit of younger officials who give promise of reaching high rank, a postal academy was established, courses at which are also attended by foreign postal officials.

Well may foreigners exclaim, "How generous are the great English people!" Alas! it was not the act of the people; but the absolute will of imbecility, ignorance, and impudence, which we shall have further occasion to illustrate.

We must now refer our readers to the former expectation of marriage between the Princess Charlotte and the Prince of Orange. That union was much desired by the regent, because the Prince of Orange had promised unrelenting opposition to the Princess of Wales. As soon as the Princess Charlotte, however, became aware of this, she determinately refused to see the prince again; and we well know that the Duchess of Oldenburgh took every possible opportunity to press Prince Leopold upon her notice. Up to the moment of the marriage, the Princess Charlotte did not hear or know a single word about the former serious engagement of her affianced husband, except the mean and paltry report that "he had been very voluptuous in his gratifications, and was then desirous of bidding an eternal adieu to those who had formerly led him astray!" On the other hand, Charlotte was tired of the overbearing and indiscriminate conduct of her grandmother, the queen; and therefore resolved to free herself from such restraint.

Previous to the marriage, Prince Leopold solemnly promised to fulfil every iota of the Princess Charlotte's wish, with respect to her abused and insulted mother; and further engaged that he

# GERMANY'S POSITION IN WORLD ECONOMY

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of the Federal Republic's economic policy is to make German economy once again an integral part of a free world economy in which travel and the movement of goods, money or capital will be untrammelled by restrictions, and a man will be able to buy a ticket in any German city to any place in the world and, on arrival at his destination, exchange German money for any other currency without let or hindrance.

This free world economy collapsed as a result of the severe depression of the years 1929/32. The introduction of exchange control measures in Germany and in other countries in the summer of 1931, the fact that the pound sterling and other currencies went off the gold standard in the fall of the same year, and the devaluation of the dollar in 1934 constituted the most important stages in this breakdown of free world economy. All efforts made to re-establish this free economic system proved fruitless before 1939, when the second World War and its aftermath considerably reduced the chances of a favorable development. However, since 1952, it has become possible to discern certain indications of a new order of things.

*Germany is highly interested in a successful outcome of efforts to liberate world economy from its present shackles and has taken a very active part in them, since, owing to her restricted resources in food and raw materials and her overpopulation (which has been aggravated by the influx of expellees), she is dependent on the sale of the products of her industry and on very close economic relations with other countries. The prospects, however, seem to be much less favorable than after 1918, when Germany — at least so it appears, if we compare the situation today — was rapidly and almost automatically reincorporated into the international economic system. The present situation is characterized by five main factors.*

- a) The exchange of goods is not effected on a multilateral basis but primarily on the basis of bilateral offset agreements. Foreign exchange regulations present a greater obstacle than tariffs. Efforts made to lower the latter have resulted, among other things, in the conclusion of a World Trade Charter — which, however, has not yet been ratified — and of the GATT Agreement (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Germany, since the Torquay Conference in 1951, has actively participated in these efforts.
- b) Whereas Germany was able to obtain considerable foreign loans as early as six or seven years after the first World War, there can still be no question of international capital trans-

actions today. On the other hand, however, Germany's incorporation into world economy was substantially facilitated by the Marshall Plan funds granted from 1948 on. The London Agreement on German External Debts, concluded in 1952, opens up new possibilities for Germany in the field of international credits, but in the near future only *relatively unimportant* amounts will be available.

- c) Germany, like the other European countries, is aiming in the first place at European integration. The Organization for European Economic Co-operation, which was established within the Marshall Plan Administration in 1948, became an important starting point for these European efforts: Germany has been a member of OEEC since October 1949. An institution of the OEEC which has assumed great importance is the European Payments Union (EPU), which was created in the summer of 1950 to promote the exchange of goods in Europe and to develop a multilateral payments system. Another significant starting-point for these efforts towards the achievement of a European integration was the European Coal and Steel Community (Coal and Steel Pool) which was established in the summer of 1952 and was based on a plan drawn up by the former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Schuman, and the French economist M. Monnet. Its provisional seat is in Luxembourg.
- d) The European Payments Union is, by its very nature, an important instrument for the restoration of a general free convertibility of European currencies. The monetary institutions which were created shortly before the end of the second World War, in accordance with the decision taken at Bretton Woods, namely the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund, serve the same end. Germany has been a member of these two institutions since 1952. The activities of the Bank for International Settlements are also directed to this end; it was created as early as 1930; it is, however, now overshadowed to a certain extent by the Bretton Woods institutions.
- e) Germany has also joined many international organizations, to some of which she had already adhered prior to 1939; for instance, the International Labor Organization, which she rejoined in 1951. Germany does not yet enjoy membership of the United Nations, but nevertheless she participates in many special committees or



rived at the Pavilion, from Windsor Castle; the interview was short between Leopold and his intended bride. The family resolved that the marriage should take place as soon as possible. The royal ladies returned to Windsor, and the prince remained at Brighton with the regent.

At the time such immense sums were voted for this intended marriage and outfit, large means were also required for the support of our expensive establishments at home, which ought to have prevented any squandering of money upon foreigners, for we could never consider Prince Leopold as one of the royal family of England.

Mr. Vansittart, however, was very eloquent, in his way, in setting forth "the great, the incomparably great" station occupied by this country amongst the nations of the earth. In truth, we will tell the precise state of our then greatness. Our jails were crowded with farmers and the best of our tradesmen; our streets and roads swarmed with beggars, nearly dying from filth and want; agriculture languished, and commerce was paralysed!

After some delay, caused by circumstances not very honourable to Prince Leopold, the marriage took place on the 2d of May; and a very general report obtained credit that Prince Leopold pronounced his responses very tremulously, scarcely articulating his portion of the ceremony. This could hardly be wondered at, as he well knew the

## FREIHERR DR. VOLLRATH VON MALTZAN

Ministerialdirektor and Head of the Commercial Policy  
Department of the Foreign Office

Freiherr Dr. von Maltzan was born in Berlin on December 22, 1899. He was educated at the gymnasium in Strasbourg, and at Heidelberg University, where he read Law. He graduated as a Doctor of Law in 1922. In 1924 and 1925, he worked as an assistant judge at the Berlin Kammergericht (High Court of Justice) and, from 1925 onwards, in the Foreign Service. In 1927, he passed the final examination for the diplomatic and consular service. At the League of Nations meetings in Geneva, Dr. von Maltzan was secretary to the German Foreign Minister Stresemann. After working for about a year in the German Legation in Warsaw, he was Counsellor in the Paris Embassy from 1929 to 1933 under Ambassador von Hoesch. Changing from purely diplomatic activity, he was appointed to the Commercial Section of the Foreign Office in Berlin, where he remained until being dismissed in 1938. Until he was called upon to take charge of the Trade Section (Interzonal Trade) of the Hessian Ministry of Economics at Wiesbaden in 1946, Freiherr Dr. von Maltzan was engaged in private economic activities. In June 1946, he was made responsible for interzonal and foreign trade in the South German Laender Council in Stuttgart. In December of the same year, he became head of the General Foreign Trade Department of the Bizonal Economic Administration Office in Minden, Westphalia. He subsequently became Director of Department V (Foreign Trade) in the Economic Administration at Frankfurt on the Main. Since 1950, Freiherr Dr. von Maltzan has been Head of the Foreign Trade Department of the Federal Ministry of Economics. The successes achieved by the Federal Republic since he as-



sumed control of this department are due in no small measure to his knowledge of political affairs and his initiative. Dr. von Maltzan is first among those persons without whose aid this book could never have been compiled. His ever-ready help and his unflagging interest have been essential to the carrying out of this work. The Editor therefore desires to take this opportunity of expressing to him his special thanks.

co-operates with them indirectly. Mention must also be made of her membership of the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the International Wheat Council, and of committees of the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva, etc.

Certain circles in countries which are Germany's competitors observe her recovery with deep concern and talk of a new German export imperialism which they deem to be a menace to them. It should, however, be considered a matter of course that the Federal Republic, as a densely populated industrial country, has to import and, consequently, to export on a large scale. It should, furthermore, be clear that there are two parties to all economic relations from country to country and that these relations are profitable to both. Before the war, Germany ranked first or second — both as a customer and as a supplier — in the foreign trade of 23 European nations.

For all these and for other countries, the economic recovery of Germany is as important as it is for Ger-

many herself. Perhaps it is not so much the volume of German foreign trade as such which causes so much concern, but rather the speed and the dynamic force of Germany's development in recent years. Some may fear that it might go on like this forever. But this speed has already slowed down considerably. Furthermore, by the time Germany arrived on the scene, the cream had been skimmed off the milk, and she has now a much lower share in world markets than in former times.

### Percentage Shares of World Exports

	1913	1938	1951	1952
Germany	12.7	9.8	4.5	5.6
USA	13.0	14.1	19.4	20.8
Great Britain	16.4	11.6	9.4	10.0
France	7.0	4.0	5.5	5.4
Canada	2.3	4.0	4.9	6.3
Europe (total)	56.5	49.8	39.8	38.6
North and South America (total)	24.2	27.0	36.1	39.1

Cloud ; her body was put into a thin shell, stained black, with no ornament whatever. Mrs. Jordan had lived in Paris for some time in great privacy and poverty, under the assumed name of Mrs. James. Is not the newly created Earl of Munster, and one or two other great personages, the issue of this unfortunate lady's singular engagement with the prince of some great nation ? The other character was Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the favourite companion and devoted servant of the Prince of Wales. Let his scanty means of subsistence be remembered whenever the name of the prince regent is mentioned. Yes, reader, the man who had devoted his highly improved and naturally eloquent abilities to the cause of this regent was permitted to die in the course of an arrest !

The sorrows and disappointments which Mrs. Jordan underwent in this world were of the most agonising description. Oh, why is it tolerated that royalty should be allowed to exercise the prerogative of inflicting the deepest wounds without the possibility of the injured party ever receiving redress ? Is it not contrary to all laws, both human and divine, to suppose "the king can do no wrong ?" If a prince commit an act of injustice, ought he not to be equally amenable with the peasant to the laws of his country ? We think so, and hope to see the day when the whole world will acknowledge its justness, and act upon its principle.



themselves under heavy pressure to export, by reason of the state of their balance of payments. Foreign exchange revenue of the primary producer countries has decreased as a result of the drop in prices, so that they are importing less capital and consumer goods.

### *Stiffer Competition*

*Germany's task in the coming years is, therefore, to pit her efforts in the battle for markets with lowered capacity to absorb goods against increasing competition, and this without the advantage of relatively low prices.* Only success in this task can bring a consolidation of the present level of foreign trade and, over and above this, an increase of imports and exports commensurate with the requirements of the Federal Republic's expanding national economy.

In order to reach this objective, Germany must have an appropriate overall economic and credit policy and, in particular, an active and diversified trade policy. Of the vast number of relevant issues, we shall deal here only with the two most urgent ones: i. e., the problem of the export of capital, and the necessity of a trade policy diversified according to currency areas.

### *Export Financing*

The problem of German capital export presents itself in connection with the export of those commodities having the best chances of being wanted in the future by an increasingly industrialized world. We refer to the export of capital goods, such as machines, electrotechnical products, and vehicles for public transportation. Large-scale purchasers of these typical export goods are first and foremost, though by no means exclusively, the primary producer and agrarian countries with expanding industries. These countries, which are short of capital, place their orders with manufacturers who grant them five, ten, even twelve years' credit for the payment of the installations supplied. Whoever wants to obtain such orders must be prepared to finance them on a long-term basis. The ability and willingness to engage in the export of capital — which is what such financing amounts to — is, therefore, frequently the indispensable prerequisite for the export of capital goods. *The Federal Republic must export capital goods and must, therefore, find ways and means to export capital.* It is one of the chief objectives of trade policy to constitute the balance of payments in such a fashion as to afford, at least to a certain extent, the latitude required for the export of capital. Frequently, the only choice will be between an intentional and deliberate capital export, with a view to the placing of investment goods, and an indirect export of capital by freezing payment claims, as was done in the case of Brazil. Irrespective of the export of capital, there remains, of course, the necessity of leaving no stone unturned to further the sale abroad of consumer goods.

### *Diversification according to Payment Areas*

The diversification of the trade policy according to areas is a pressing task in a world trade system of non-convertible currencies. As described above, the foreign trade balance in 1951 showed a small import surplus of 149 million DM, while in 1953 there was an export surplus of 2.5 billion DM. However, these overall figures conceal discrepancies in respect to payment areas. The world is today divided into several payment areas, which reflect different currency policies and the variety of trade policies which these necessarily entail. Vis-à-vis each of these payment areas Germany's foreign trade is in a wholly different situation, and the country's export trade policy, which is the handmaid of its foreign trade, must grapple with a variety of tasks according to the currency area with which it is dealing. Simplifying the problem somewhat, we may differentiate between four areas: the countries of the European Payments Union (EPU area), the dollar area, the offset-accounts area of the free world, and the countries of the eastern Soviet bloc.

### *Balance of Trade with the EPU Area*

*The outstanding feature of the balance of trade with the EPU area since the significant turning point in 1951, has been the considerable export surplus, which amounted to 1.75 billion DM in 1951 and even 2.20 billion DM in 1953. Actually, the fact that there exists an export surplus in trade with the EPU area is no more than the return to a normal situation, for Germany always had a large credit balance in her trade with continental Western Europe. To this extent one may consider the export surplus as structural in nature.*

However, this does not mean that Germany's trade policy should passively accept the present size of the export surplus or even its further increase. A continuous over-high credit balance of an EPU member country may lead to a cancellation of liberalization and to other measures possibly restricting future trade with Germany; such a balance might even finally destroy the EPU. It is, therefore, Germany's own primary interest to keep export surpluses to the EPU area within certain limits. This should not and must not be done, however, by measures restricting German exports. The center of gravity in trade with the EPU area must be on the import side. In this connection too much emphasis should not be laid on greater import liberalization. Imports should be liberalized as far as possible, but, as the Federal Republic has already consented to a liberalization of about 92 per cent, there remains little latitude for further measures, unless certain economic sectors which require protection — in particular, agriculture — are to be jeopardized. The products which the countries of continental Western Europe can offer the Federal Republic are above all consumer goods. With regard to these countries it is, therefore, the chief

The Baron Ompteda was also employed in this foul and diabolical plot, and, as a reward for his services, he has received a sufficiency from the hard-earned money of the tax-payers of this kingdom. We suggest that it had been quite in character to have presented the same in a purse, with "the reward of villainy" inscribed upon it.

We will here lay before our readers a plain statement of facts relative to the persecutions which the unfortunate Princess of Wales endured abroad, and which is extracted from an original letter now in our possession :

"For some days past there have been inserted in several of the papers various pretended extracts of letters from Milan, Munich, and other places, respecting the Princess of Wales, and giving a most erroneous statement of an affair that occurred some months since in her Royal Highness's family. You may depend upon the following, as being an authentic narrative of the transaction alluded to. A Hanoverian baron was observed to follow the princess's route wherever she went. He was always received by her Royal Highness with the attentions due to his rank. On the princess's return to Milan from her long voyage, the baron was still there, and paid his respects to her Royal Highness as usual ; but reports having come to the ears of her household, that the baron had made use of expressions in society highly injurious to her Royal Highness, one of the gentlemen in

## WILHELM NAEDEL

Chairman of the Economics Committee of the Bundestag



Wilhelm Naegel was born in 1904. After leaving the gymnasium, he prepared for a commercial and technical career, passing through the Commercial High Schools of Berlin and Koenigsberg, the University of Cologne and the Technical University of Brunswick. After graduation, he worked, from 1933 onwards, in industry, banking and commerce in Germany and England. He was later principal business manager of the firm C & A Brenninkmeyer. As a member of the Zonal Advisory Council for the British Zone, in Hamburg, he was led to devote himself to questions of economic policy. He became a member of the nominated Landtag for Lower Saxony in Hanover and, later, of the Economic Council in Frankfurt. Since August 1949, Wilhelm Naegel has been a member of the Bundestag (CDU). He is also President of the Retail Trades Association of Lower Saxony, vice-President of the Principal Association of German Retail Trade, vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Hanover, Chairman of the Union of Retail Textile Traders' Associations, Chairman of the Trade Committee of the Federation of German Chambers of Commerce, and a leading member of the Committee of the Union of Catholic Entrepreneurs.

task of German trade policy — apart from relaxations in the matter of the transfer of investment profits — to mobilize that great asset of highly industrialized and densely populated countries — "consumer purchasing power". Any increase in German consumption tenable from the standpoint of the national economy facilitates the task of charting trade policy.

### *Balance of Trade with the Dollar Area*

With regard to the dollar area — the dollar countries of the free world — the situation is reversed. The trade balance resulting from German trade with that area showed an import surplus of 1.91 billion DM in 1951: a surplus which in 1952 still amounted to 1.79 billion DM. In 1951, 2.7 times as much was imported from the USA as was exported there, in 1952, 2.4 times as much. So considerable a disequilibrium in the trade balance would have been impossible, if a decreasing, but still sizeable quantity of dollar imports had not been financed from ECA/MSA funds, and if dollar accruals from the EPU area and the "invisible" items of the balance of payments (in particular, dollar expenditure by Americans in Germany and the credits of the Export-Import Bank) had not resulted in a surplus. In 1953 the import surplus was reduced to 209 million DM. The favorable 1953 dollar balance must, however, not blind us to the fact that the

trade balance with the area, — under the ruling rate of exchange — is in a state of *structural deficit*, the persistency of which is due to the fact that the Federal Republic can buy some foodstuffs and raw materials — in the case of food, two-fifths of all imports — only in the USA, or at least only there at reasonable prices, while export transactions with that country encounter particular difficulties.

The situation described above imposes unambiguous directives on German trade policy. As far as exports are concerned, there must be a *continuation and strengthening of the efforts to sell in dollar markets*. These efforts cannot be expected to perform miracles, but it does appear inadmissible that the USA, — the world's largest and most diversified market, the possibilities of which German industry has only just begun to explore — should cease to offer chances to German export. It might do so in case of a serious depression or of a resurgence of protectionism — both, most probably, unlikely contingencies. But, even under the most favorable circumstances, only slow progress will be made on the American domestic market. The Federal Republic must therefore seek other possibilities of selling merchandise against dollars. Such possibilities include: off-shore transactions, i.e., the sale of goods required for rearmament, the procurement of which is financed in dollars by the US

had been for the preceding ten months, to disclose to him every transaction of the household, to procure false keys to her Royal Highness's apartments and drawers, etc. This was made known to her Royal Highness. She treated all that he could have obtained by such insidious means with contempt; and actually took the footman, who had thus acted as a spy upon her actions, again into her service, on his imploring her pardon; but another accomplice was delivered over to the police, to be tried and punished.

"The very next day after this discovery her Royal Highness gave a grand entertainment, at which the Governor of Milan and all the principal nobility were present. When the princess communicated the whole affair to the governor, he expressed his indignation at the scandalous conduct, and having learnt that a challenge had passed from one of her gentlemen to the baron, said that certainly that person was unworthy to be treated as a gentleman. The Hanoverian knew nothing of all this; but, according to his promise, sent Count Cantenogh, one of the chamberlains to the Austrian emperor, to Como, who, having met the British officer, said he was not much acquainted with the Hanoverian, who had requested him to be his second in an affair of honour; that he was anxious to have the matter fully investigated; and trusted that, if the baron should prove his innocence of the language



Government, and participation, in the shape of German capital goods, in US-financed investment projects in underdeveloped territories. (This would, of course, presuppose that American and non-American firms are permitted to compete freely for delivery contracts). As far as concerns imports, the dollar deficit could be decreased by a re-orientation of German buying abroad. This does not mean forcing the flow of supplies through new channels by means of controls, but by seeking to establish alternative natural sources for their procurement. We must, however, keep sight of the fact that there are limits to such re-direction: some of the goods procured from the dollar area can only be obtained there; others might be purchased elsewhere, but frequently only at much higher prices.

The two payment areas above discussed together furnish the predominant part of the goods imported by Germany (1953: 86%) and absorb by far the largest part of German exports (1953: 85%). It would, however, be wrong to underestimate for that reason the importance of trade policy with other areas. While some of the national economies of the countries of the EPU and dollar areas compete with Germany as regards supply and demand, *the offset-accounts areas and the countries of the eastern bloc are structurally the natural complement of the German economy both for exports and imports.*

#### *Offset Agreements*

It is the objective of the agreements concluded with the "offset-accounts countries" of the free world, (in particular, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Yugoslavia, Finland, Spain and Egypt) which permit, as a rule, only a very limited "swing", to ensure that trade balances are more or less in equilibrium. In 1950 and 1951 this was, on the whole, achieved. However, with some of these countries — Brazil, Yugoslavia and Finland — there existed, even prior to 1951, a considerable export surplus. This state of affairs has become even more pronounced since 1952, when the export surplus with respect to the whole group of countries amounted to 514 million DM, with Brazil to 334 million DM, and with Yugoslavia to 60 million DM.

German trade policy must find methods which will give better balanced trade within the framework of bilateralism. The most obvious and simple method, i.e., reduction of German exports to these countries to the level of imports from them, would be wrong. The correct approach appears to be the following: firstly, the increase of German imports from these countries, i.e., the utilization, referred to above, of Germany's ability to buy and the replacement, for import purposes, of the dollar area by the offset-accounts area; secondly, the strengthening of transit trade in merchandise imported from the offset-accounts countries; thirdly, the promotion, also mentioned above, of the export

of capital by way of long-term financing of capital goods exports to these countries; fourthly, negotiations with a view to eliminating the many discriminations in exchange rates, and to establishing realistic rates which would greatly enhance the prospects for these countries of marketing their products in Germany.

#### *Trade with the East*

Trade with the Soviet bloc countries must be conducted in the light of political exigencies. In 1936 the share of these countries (inclusive of China) in imports and exports of the Reich was 16.4% and 16.1%, respectively.

In 1950 their share in imports and exports of the Federal Republic was only 3.1% and 4.3%, respectively; in 1953 it had even dropped to 2.8% (imports) and 1.8% (exports). Compared with other west European countries, Germany has thus had to accept the largest curtailment of trade relations with states behind the Iron Curtain.

The Federal Republic desires an improvement of its trade with these countries. In her own interest, and not simply to please the USA, Germany intends to be over-cautious rather than overgenerous as far as deliveries of commodities of a "strategic nature" are concerned. The Federal Republic has at all times loyally complied with its international obligations under the embargo policy.

But with respect to clearly non-strategic goods she expects to be treated on a par with her competitors of the Western world. In establishing the prohibitions and restrictions applicable to all participants in East-West trade, it should always be taken into account that attention should not be paid solely to the commodities delivered to the East, but also to the goods received in return for these deliveries.

#### *Volume of Germany's Foreign Trade 1947—1953\**

##### *Total Imports and Total Exports*

(Million Dollars)

Calendar year	Total	Imports			Exports	Import (—) or Export (+) Surplus	Imports covered by Exports %
		own funds	ERP funds	GARIOA** funds			
1947	843	243	—	600	315	— 528	37.4
1948	1,588	562	142	884	642	— 946	40.4
1949	2,237	1,281	420	536	1,123	— 1,114	50.2
1950	2,704	2,223	303	178	1,981	— 723	73.3
1951	3,503	3,075	416	12	3,473	— 30	99.2
1952	3,854	3,740	114	0	4,037	+ 183	104.7
1953	3,809	3,746		63	4,417	+ 608	116

\* Special trade, regular exchange of commodities. Inclusive of West Berlin.

\*\* Inclusive UK contributions.

#### *Foreign Trade Vital*

The existence of the Federal Republic, where the population density (inclusive of West Berlin) is 207 persons per sq. km as against 147 in pre-war Germany (1937), depends more than ever on

was narrowly watched, and attempts were made to seduce her people ; but only one, Piqueur Crade, was so weak as to yield, and to promise Baron O—— to conduct him into the apartments of the princess by means of false keys. The plot was, however, discovered, and the piqueur turned away. The man wrote to the Chevalier Tommassia, confessed that he had let himself be seduced by Baron O—— to betray his mistress, and begged for mercy. The princess thought it proper to acquaint the governor, Count Sawrau, with this event, and Baron O—— was forced to leave the dominions of his Majesty the emperor. Hownham, the princess's private secretary, challenged the baron, but the latter has hitherto put it off. Since this affair, the princess is very cautious, particularly toward Englishmen whom she does not know ; but she conceals herself from nobody, only she will not be the object of calumny, and of a shameful espionage, of which she has already been the victim. What has happened gives ground to fear still greater enormities.

“An event, which took place at Genoa, has more the appearance of an attempt at assassination than robbery. Some armed men penetrated, during the night, into the house of the princess, and almost into her bedchamber. An alarm being given, one of the servants fired upon these people, and pursued them, but in vain. It is not yet discovered what were their intentions. But let veil

foreign trade. Over two-fifths of Western Germany's wheat and sugar requirements, large quantities of oil seeds, hides and skins, textile raw materials, ores, and non-ferrous metals, etc. must be imported. Although Germany's foreign trade has in recent years developed more favorably than was expected, she has by no means recovered her pre-war share in global trade. The specific market situation which expedited and promoted Germany's return to the international economic system has meanwhile

changed. Competition has become stiffer, particularly on foreign markets, for industries producing capital goods. In view of the multiplicity of the consequent tasks and methods, Germany's foreign trade policy must pursue one clear objective: it must strive as much as possible for an ever closer fusion of the growing German national economy with the national economies of other countries. The Federal Republic can prosper only within a free and expanding world economic system.

## TRADE FAIRS IN THE SERVICE OF EXPORTS

### *Trade Fairs in Germany*

After the destruction wrought by the war, trade fairs, too, had to make a fresh start. Owing to the changed conditions, the Leipzig Fair could no longer carry out its international mission. Economic circles in the Federal Republic had, therefore, to look for ways of filling this gap and of keeping up the trade fair tradition. These efforts eventually led to the concentration of trade fair activities in the cities of Hanover, Frankfurt and Cologne.

### *The three big Trade Fairs*

In August 1947, the first post-war trade fair in Western Germany, the Hanover Export Fair, was held in the modern halls of a large industrial plant on the outskirts of the capital of Lower Saxony. In spite of all the extraordinary obstacles its development had to contend with, and the initial lack of the barest necessities (even accommodation and food for exhibitors and visitors), this Hanover fair, which was simultaneously a consumer goods and heavy industries fair, became a great success and ushered in a new era in the history of German trade fairs.

In September 1947, a few weeks later than Hanover, the Cologne Fair reopened its doors. The aim was to establish a market for consumer goods, in keeping with a tradition of many years' standing, and to resume relations with other countries, mainly with neighbor states of the Federal Republic. Frankfurt was last to reappear on the scene, with a general goods fair in the fall of 1948. Closely connected with these three general fairs are the Offenbach Leather Goods Fair and the Nuremberg Toy Fair.

### *Special Fairs*

Among the various special fairs, we mention the German Radio and Television Exposition, Duesseldorf; the Photokina, Cologne; the International Printing and Paper Fair, Duesseldorf; the International Automobile Fair, Frankfurt; the International Bicycle and Motorcycle Show, Frankfurt; the AICHEM (Exposition for Chemical Apparatus), Frankfurt; the General Fair for Food and Stimulants, Cologne, and the Frankfurt Book Fair. This is an almost confusing number of events, all of which attract their nucleus of regular customers. However, some of these fairs are held only every other year.

The German handicrafts have set up a fair of their own in Munich, which reflects the traditional characteristic features of the manual trades and their special requirements.

The exhibition centers of German agriculture are the itinerant expositions of the German Agricultural Society, at which German industry exhibits implements and products required by agriculture, and the latter in turn shows agricultural products of all kinds and livestock for breeding.

### *Division of Functions*

These activities, which take place in different cities, necessarily lead to a rational division of functions, particularly between the big general fairs of Hanover, Frankfurt and Cologne. The fairs at Frankfurt, Cologne, Offenbach and Nuremberg and the Hanover Export Fair all take place within a total period of two weeks in March; the Hanover Industries Fair, on or about May 1. This mutual adjustment of the dates is intended to enable the buyer who does not concentrate on a special item or branch, and who wants to visit more than one place, to make a round-trip to all the fairs which appear of interest to him. Such a tour presents no difficulties in view of the short distances and the rapid rail and Autobahn connexions between Frankfurt, Hanover and Cologne.

The exhibits of the individual branches of industry have come to be divided between the Hanover, Frankfurt and Cologne fairs as follows:

### *German Industries Fair, Hanover*

Mechanical engineering: woodworking machines, textile machines, food processing machinery, power generating machines, foundry machinery, laundry machinery, rubber processing machines, machines for the processing of plastics, building machines, machines for making building materials, machines for crude ceramics, pumps and compressors, air-conditioning and drying apparatus, fittings, welding, scales, gears, hauling and hoisting machinery, precision tools, measuring instruments, machine tools. Electrotechnics: heavy and light-current engineering of all kinds.

Steel-forming: drawn and cold rolled products; hardening technics; tools; abrasive material; precision mechanics and optics; iron, sheet metal and

tresses of the poor, and her Majesty's name was put down for the insignificant sum of three hundred pounds. If we were to be prolix in our account of this German lady's discretionary liberality, the details, we fear, would not interest our readers. She was only liberal when her own interest was at stake.

metal goods; non-ferrous metals; chemical industry and plastics; rubberware; steel furniture; photocopying and photostat equipment; factory and office control equipment and supplies. Chinaware, ceramics, glassware, textiles and clothing, linen, gold and silverware, jewelry, clocks and watches, hardware and cutlery.

#### *Frankfort International Trade Fair*

Textiles, clothing and linen, office and business supplies, office equipment, art and de luxe editions, paper and cardboard, arts and crafts, sporting goods, cosmetics and other chemical consumer goods, decorating materials, furniture and shop equipment, musical instruments, slot-machines, smokers' requisites, food and stimulants.

#### *Cologne International Trade Fairs*

Household utensils and hardware fair: household and kitchen utensils, including electrical apparatus; iron, sheet metal and metal goods; heating and cooking apparatus; washing machines and boilers; refrigerators.

Textile fair: textiles of all kinds; clothing; shirts and underwear; table linen; sheets, pillows, blankets, etc.; household linen.

Furniture fair: every other year.

A great number of other countries, European and overseas, are represented, not only among the buyers, but also among the exhibitors. The objective of German trade fair activities, now divided between several cities, is to preserve and develop the international character and atmosphere, which the Leipzig Fair possessed in such an ideal form, and to promote and cultivate trade within Germany, between Germans and foreigners, and between the different foreign nations.

#### *German Participation in Trade Fairs abroad*

A logical complement to the development of trade fairs within Germany has been the representation of west German economy at international trade

fairs and exhibitions in Europe and overseas. By participating in such events, German firms resumed a custom of former days in the hope of meeting old business friends again and convincing them once more of the efficiency and quality of German production.

In 1949 joint participation and official information booths were organized for the international exhibitions and fairs in Chicago, Milan and New York. As early as 1950, these projects, now carried out in common by German economic circles and the Federal Government, were expanded considerably. At the international trade fairs in Barcelona, Bolzano, Karachi, New Delhi, Stockholm, Utrecht and Vienna where German industry was remarkably well represented, the Federal Republic maintained official information booths; in Chicago and Izmir it also arranged representative shows.

From year to year, the trade fair calendar became more and more extensive. In 1951 Milan, Lyons, Brussels, Paris, Bari and Cape Town were added; the Federal Republic also took part in the so-called Milan Triennale. In 1952 it was represented with official information booths at Casablanca and Luxembourg, in addition to private German firms which had previously participated in these two fairs on their own account. There was also a large-scale representative and collective German participation at the International Trade Fair in Toronto (Canada). The 1953 schedule was similarly extensive.

The "Ausstellungs- und Messeausschuss der Wirtschaft" (Exposition and Fairs Committee) established by the German economy, is a central agency which prepares the participation of German firms in foreign fairs and exhibitions. Assisted by private trade fair companies, it carries out the organizational and technical details of such participation. At the same time, the Committee is at the disposal of, and gives advice to the Federal Minister of Economics as the custodian of the public interest.

## GERMAN EXTERNAL DEBTS

A settlement of German external debts is a prerequisite for the reintegration of Germany into world economy and in particular into international credit relations. The German Government never let it be doubted that its obligations towards foreign creditors would be fulfilled. A declaration to this effect was made on March 6, 1951. The details were settled at the London Debts Conference, the earliest preparations for which date back to the year 1951, and which was concluded by the signing of the Agreement on German External Debts on February 27, 1953.

#### *Fundamental Nature of the London Agreement*

The London Agreement embodies the first large-scale attempt to reorganize the essential part of the

external liabilities of a country, both public and private, by an agreement aiming at a settlement of all categories of debts. The negotiations demanded much expert knowledge on the part of the representatives concerned, and even more understanding on the part of the creditors for the situation of the debtor, and vice versa. Taking into account all the essential circumstances, the outcome can be considered as just and fair to both parties.

The representatives of the debtors realized that most of the liabilities to be settled were long overdue and would, therefore, according to the letter of the contracts, have been payable at once and in full. The validity of their arguments that neither private nor public resources would be sufficient to meet

In February, the "Habeas Corpus Act" was suspended, and, upon suspicion only, were Mr. Evans and his son seized and committed to prison on a charge of treason. They observed at the time, with great truth, "Poor devoted England! she cannot be called our country, but our grave!" This was confirmed by Lord Sidmouth, who rendered his every service in this disgraceful business, and was at all imaginable pains to prove that his master, the regent, was the "Vicegerent of heaven, and had all power upon earth."

The country was now elated by the information that the Princess Charlotte was likely to give an heir to the throne; because the people hoped that her progeny would prove more worthy of a crown than some of the sons of her austere grandmother. Upon this amiable princess, indeed, the English people had long placed their hopes, and they lived in anxious expectation to see the then existing tyranny superseded by a better form of government, under her auspices. In the meantime, every member of the royal family appeared more interested for the health of the queen than for the Princess Charlotte. Her Majesty had experienced several relapses; but, after each attack, when she appeared in public, no symptoms of previous indisposition were visible.

Lords Liverpool, Castlereagh, and Sidmouth, and the accommodating George Canning, were now the arbiters of the fates of nations; their will was no



## HERMANN J. ABS

Member of the Managing Board of the Süddeutsche Bank

*After finishing his studies, Hermann J. Abs spent many years in European and overseas countries familiarizing himself with international banking practice at first hand. From 1929 onwards, he was a partner in the old-established private banking house of Delbrück, Schickler & Co., Berlin, which he left in 1937 to join the Managing Board of the Deutsche Bank, with special responsibilities for foreign trade matters. In 1948 he was called to the Managing Board of the Kreditanstalt für den Wiederaufbau (Reconstruction Credit Institution), at Frankfurt on the Main, a post which he occupied until 1952. He is still Deputy Administrative President of the Kreditanstalt. From 1951 to 1953, Hermann J. Abs was leader of the German Delegation at the London Conference on German external debts. He has occupied the position of member of the Managing Board of the Süddeutsche Bank, Frankfurt and Munich (one of the successor institutions of the Deutsche Bank), since 1952.*

this obligation, either in respect of capacity to raise the sums involved or ability to transfer them within a short period, had finally to be recognized by the creditors. The limitations imposed on the territorial jurisdiction of the Federal Republic and the extraordinary losses caused by the war to public and private economy played an important part in this connection. It was likewise recognized that German economy as a whole has become much more vulnerable and more dependent on foreign countries than it was before the war. The losses of German assets abroad also induced the representatives of the creditors to grant concessions when fixing the level of Germany's obligations. On all these counts the creditors, *therefore, took into consideration the reduced capacity of the Federal Republic in assessing their claims.*

### *Germany's International Credit*

In connection with these negotiations, the term "recovery of Germany's international credit" was often mentioned in public quarters in Germany and also in the official documents. This phrase must not be taken to mean that settlement and repayment of the long-term debts was conceded by the debtor chiefly or exclusively in order to obtain new credits abroad. *The main objective of the conference was rather to restore the confidence of foreign countries in Germany's reliability as a borrower, which had gravely suffered since pre-war days. That*

*this confidence, in its less immediate consequences, would be one of the most essential prerequisites for the re-establishment of financial relations by foreign countries with Germany and with the German economy is another question.* It is commonly known that the Federal Republic, in view of its immense capital requirements for further reconstruction, must rely on foreign monetary loans. On the other hand, the German delegation fully realized that, in view of the general situation, particularly in the United States, and having regard to present conditions in Europe — mainly in the matter of international political relations — it will take years before the other prerequisites for private credits and loans for the German economy are satisfied.

The German delegates drew the further conclusion from this situation that it was not appropriate to demand from the creditors the insertion in the Agreement of a clause enabling the Federal Republic to suspend payments if difficulties should arise, particularly in connection with transfer. They only reserved the right to consult the creditor governments in such cases. In view of ruling trade and currency conditions and the strains and stresses to which the German economy is particularly exposed by reason of general world trends or measures taken by the creditor countries, it was generally recognized that if Germany should not be in a position to meet her obligations fully at some future date, the Federal Republic might not

tiality of judges, supplied the defect of evidence needful for punishment. The law was actually made a snare, while vice received encouragement and rewards, when on the side of the oppressors. This was not solely confined to the higher tribunals, but was also apparent in almost every inferior court. Indeed, Lord Sidmouth sent a circular letter to all lieutenants of counties, recommending even "justices of the peace to hold to bail persons publishing alleged libels." The whole ministry proved themselves to be uninfluenced by the dictates of equity, or those principles of moderation which distinguished some of our noble ancestors. Power was everything with Castlereagh and his associates, assisted by the mitred heads of the "established church," who were ever his zealous friends in the cause of tyranny. Be it, then, our duty to tear the mask of hypocrisy aside, and exhibit the deformity of power, more especially when disguised under the specious form of piety. He who can assume the sanctity of a saint, and perform the deeds of a ruffian, will not be spared in our explanations of truth. The title of "Right Reverend Father in God" shall not cause us to be dismayed, if, by their reverend works, they prove themselves to be the children of the devil. We are not what pretended pious people term infidels; but we detest to see the tools of power endeavour to subdue the nation in the garb of godliness, insulting the poor with orders for "general fasts," while



right to demand speedier payment in Deutsche-marks. Great Britain reduced her claims to 150 million pounds to be covered within 20 years without interest. France cut her claim of approximately \$ 16 million by 25 per cent. This reduced amount is likewise payable within 20 years without interest.

*The total sum to be transferred abroad annually under the London Agreement on the basis of the above-mentioned settlement of pre-war and post-war debts amounts to approximately 567 million DM during the five years beginning 1953. From 1958 onwards, this total rises to about 765 million DM annually because of the amortizations which commence at that time. Included in these annuities are two minor items which have not been mentioned above, namely: (a) the payments which have to be effected by the Federal Republic on the basis of the agreement concluded with Switzerland in 1952 on the so-called "clearing billion", and (b) liabilities arising from the German-Danish agreement on the settlement of expenses incurred by Denmark in accommodating and supporting German refugees during the early post-war years.*

#### *Claims of Israel*

Negotiations for the settlement of claims of the State of Israel against the Federal Republic for the accommodation of about 500,000 refugees in Israel were conducted concurrently with the London Conference. Israel had assessed its claim at one billion dollars. This was the subject of negotiations with representatives of Israel and the Jewish world organizations from February to September 1952 at the Hague. The negotiations were concluded by the agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and the State of Israel, of September 10, 1952.

In this agreement, the Federal Republic declared itself prepared to pay an amount of 3.45 billion DM within 10 or, at most, 12 years. This is not to be achieved, however, by the transfer of foreign currency, but by supplying certain goods to be obtained from German production or bought from other countries. In the latter case they will be placed at Israel's disposal via the EPU mechanism. It can hardly be contested that such supplies of goods, which are not paid by the receiver, must be considered as tantamount to a transfer. *The sums to be raised annually for Israel total more than 300 million DM. They must therefore be computed as an additional liability to the annuities agreed upon in London.*

#### *Other Reparations Claims*

The question of meeting public and private liabilities under the so-called compensation and reparation laws is still undecided. Claims in this category may be advanced by persons and groups of persons who suffered property losses through expropriation measures of the Third Reich, or their

rightful heirs. Such claims total 3.5 billion DM according to estimates available so far. These debts will be concentrated on blocked Mark accounts on behalf of the creditors as soon as their amount has been fixed and they fall due. Thus the total of the blocked DM accounts, of which about 800 million is already now on the ledgers of banks in the Federal Republic, will be brought up to more than 4 billions.

#### *Foreign Assets*

Proceeds from assets in the Federal Republic belonging to foreigners (participations, real estate, and other investments) form a further item of outstanding external liabilities. The London Debts Agreement governs only those proceeds of this category which had become due before May 8, 1945. Proceeds falling due as from 1953 onwards can, according to recent regulations, be transferred, leaving still to be settled those maturing between 1945 (May) and 1952.

Estimates of the amount of foreign assets in Germany, and specifically within the territory of the Federal Republic, are extremely inaccurate, since exact statistics are not available. If it is assumed that the estimate by the Bank deutscher Länder of 7—8 billion Deutschemarks for the entire Federal Territory is correct, and if it is further assumed that the average annual yield of these assets amounts to 4 per cent, then it can be reckoned that 280—320 million DM would have to be transferred annually. Arrears of profits would have to be added where they had not yet been paid into blocked DM accounts.

#### *War-time Debts*

The last item on the list of debts would thus be the so-called political debts which originated during the war, if such debts should have to be met at all by the Federal Government in addition to the reparations so far paid. In brief, it is almost certain that foreign creditors, and above all the Allied Powers, will not raise any further reparation claims against Germany. As a result of statements made by the German Delegation, the creditor countries which negotiated in London fully realize that the government and the economy of the Federal Republic will not be able to live up to the London settlement if any additional reparations worth mentioning are imposed on Western Germany.

#### *German Foreign Assets*

With the settlement of the obligations falling within the London Agreement and the initiation of payments thereunder, the time should be ripe for an attempt to find a solution to a problem of particular interest to the Federal Republic, namely the release of German private assets abroad, in so far as these are still available. It is well known that the seizure of this property in the various countries was one reason why the creditors of the Federal Republic

pronounced at that time, by her accoucheur, to be doing extremely well, yet, at half-past two on the morning of the 6th, her Royal Highness expired. Sir Richard Croft announced to Prince Leopold the heartrending intelligence; and a messenger was instantly sent to the prince regent (to whom a former communication of fearful import had been made) and also to the queen at Bath. All the royal family then in England hastened to London, report said, "nearly destroyed with grief."

Special messengers were also despatched with the melancholy information to the Duke of Kent, who was at Brussels, and to the Duke of Cambridge, at Hanover; but the mother of the late princess was entirely neglected. *Etiquette* and respect were attended to in the cases which least required notice, and omitted in the situation which really demanded, in common decency and justice, the most prompt consideration.

The prince regent arrived at Carlton House at four o'clock on the fatal morning, and was informed by Lord Bathurst and the Duke of York of the event. The regent had been, for ten or twelve days, sojourning with the Marquis, or Marchioness, of Hertford, at their seat near Sudbury. In contradiction to several either servile or ignorant historians, we fearlessly say that it was not unexpected news to his royal ear. In the course of the ensuing day, a letter was written and

in London could not be offered a better arrangement than the one agreed upon. Had Germany been able to use the yields of this property she could have met many of her pre-war liabilities.

It is gratifying that in the field of standstill debts, at least, it was possible to set off profits from the use of German assets in Great Britain against German liabilities. Such an arrangement proved unattainable, however, in the case of the other categories of debts. Under the Contractual Agreements, the Federal Republic was to be entitled to make arrangements — under certain conditions — with foreign states regarding German property not yet transferred or liquidated and regarding the release of the proceeds of the liquidation of such assets. It would be desirable that the Federal Republic be now granted this right irrespective of the fate of the Bonn Treaty, particularly since an agreement with Switzerland on the partial release of German assets was already concluded last year by special permission of the three Allied Powers.

It is heartening in this connection that even in a former enemy country — the USA — a movement has been under way for quite some time for the release of the balance of the liquidation of German foreign assets. This movement has the support of the US Senators Chavez and Dirksen, who have advocated the release of the German assets which are still not disposed of. It would be in the interest of confident and friendly relations between the two peoples if these suggestions were to lead to positive results. By taking the lead in this matter, the United States would also incite other countries to tackle the release of German property still undisposed, in particular, countries which either remained completely neutral or went to war with Germany only at the last minute. It should be all the more possible for these countries to decide in favor of such a policy as they suffered no losses or damage by occupation or hostilities on the part of Germany.

## Conclusion

Summing up, it may be stated that the conclusion and the ratification of the Agreement on German External Debts constitutes the first decisive step towards the re-establishment of normal relations between post-war Germany and the countries of the Western world in an important field.

German international credit, which will be largely restored by the conclusion of the London Debts Agreement and the initiation of payments, is one of the principal prerequisites for the desirable ultimate aim of liberating the German monetary system from foreign-currency fetters. Now that the Federal Republic and a good part of German private pre-war debtors have resumed payments for old liabilities, and the German balance of payments has developed favorably, the German authorities have decided to take the initial steps towards the solution of the problem of blocked DM accounts. However, transfer of such accounts accumulated up to March 31, 1954 can only be carried through in respect of creditors living in EPU countries.

If it is sometimes said that, in view of recent balance of payments developments, it is only child's play for the Federal Republic to meet the annual payments agreed upon so far, and that the Agreement must therefore be considered too favorable for Germany, the above-mentioned still unsolved problems of transfer must nevertheless also be taken into account. Mention should be made in particular of the blocked Mark accounts credited to owners in the dollar area and of those still to be constituted, the transfer of which must be arranged sooner or later. The above-mentioned approximate figure of presumably more than 4 billion Deutsche-marks proves that the solution of this problem is not quite so easy, taking into account the fact that the German currency position vis-à-vis the dollar area is not as favorable as with the EPU accounts and the countries having bilateral clearing agreements with the Federal Republic.

## THE EUROPEAN PAYMENTS UNION

Germany's position, as has been shown, varies greatly vis-à-vis different economic and currency areas; among these it is with the European Payments Union countries that the Federal Republic is the most favorably placed. Apparently, however, the fact is overlooked that the history of the Union — founded in the summer of 1950 to make payments between Marshall Plan countries multilateral, and thus contribute to an increase in the volume of trade — began with a German crisis: a monthly deficit of 60 million dollars in the Federal Republic's accounts with other member countries. In the summer and autumn of 1950, there seemed to be imminent danger that Germany would not be in a position any longer to assume obligations such as those required by EPU. At that time Germany's

withdrawal from the organization and a consequent return to bilateralism was expected.

The experts entrusted with the examination of this question concluded that the crisis in the German balance of payments was the result of a policy of too abundant money, due to the peculiar circumstances of the Korea boom. *Their recommendation for overcoming the crisis was to balance the budget and to apply the methods of "classical" monetary and credit policy.* In view of public faith in the panacea of deficit spending — still unshaken at that time — such a suggestion was downright revolutionary. Nevertheless, it proved to be practicable; implementation of the policy was facilitated by a temporary credit of 120 million dollars and by the attitude of the creditor countries.

would you think if the ghost of Edward Augustus stood at your elbow?"

How very different was the report issued to the world! The daily papers stated that "the extreme sorrow of the regent had produced an unusual sensation of pain in the head of his Royal Highness." We were not surprised at this announcement; though we had hoped to have heard the royal heart was affected upon a review of his past enormities.

We regret to say that, when the Princess Charlotte was in daily expectation of her accouchement, she was not soothed by the attentions of any of her female relatives. It is true they had not, by any former acts of kindness, given her occasion to expect it; but the disrespect shown to her Royal Highness was chiefly owing to the affection for, and defence of, her persecuted mother, which, though perfectly natural and praiseworthy, displeased certain high and powerful personages. The queen (that boasted paragon of goodness!) was one hundred and eight miles distant, and the hearts of all the family seemed as if estranged from virtuous and honourable feelings. Her Majesty, with the Princess Elizabeth, left Windsor Castle for Bath, on the morning of the 3d of October, for the avowed purpose of drinking the waters. On the 27th of the same month, the prince regent, accompanied by Sir B. Bloomfield, left London for the seat of the Marquis of Hert-

## DR. HANS KARL VON MANGOLDT-REIBOLDT

President of the Directorate of the European Payments Union



*From 1926 to 1933, Dr. von Mangoldt-Reiboldt was a partner in the banking house of Hardy and Co, Munich. During the period of the Hitler Reich he occupied positions of lesser responsibility in the banking world. At the beginning of 1946, he was appointed general trustee of the Bayerische Motoren Werke AG. When the Land Central Bank for Bavaria was instituted, he was called to sit on its Administrative Council as representative of the industrial interest. In May 1947 von Mangoldt-Reiboldt became Administrator of the Bayerische Creditbank, Munich, and in July 1948 he was sent to Paris as German member of the US-British Delegation representing the Bizone with the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. On October 31, 1949, he took over leadership of the German Delegation in the OEEC, and, in July 1950 he was appointed a member of the Directorate of the European Payments Union. In April 1951 von Mangoldt-Reiboldt resigned from the leadership of the Federal Delegation, and in June 1952 he was elected President of the Directorate of the European Payments Union. By a decision of the Federal Cabinet on July 1, 1952, he was chosen as Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund in Washington.*

The success of the policy became apparent very soon in an unmistakable manner. By the end of May 1951, the special EPU credit was already fully repaid. This was followed, at the end of the same year, by the complete redemption of the German cumulative deficit with the Union. At the beginning of January 1952, the process of liberalization was resumed up to 57 per cent, initially, and, in course of time, with a steadily-increasing German surplus in the Union, to over 90 per cent. The success of the German test-case in the Union has greatly influenced the further development of that organization. This "classical" case proved that the balance of payments crisis of a country (that is to say, its deficits) — which, up to then, had always served to justify the imposition or maintenance of import restrictions and foreign currency controls — was, in fact, closely related to the monetary and credit policy of the nation concerned. Likewise, it had been clearly established that an organization like the Union, dependent on the co-operation of its member countries, can only exist and function properly when they adhere willingly to the rules, or, alternatively, when the organization *per se* is strong enough to enforce compliance. *Germany has always stood for granting EPU adequate authority in matters of monetary and credit policy.*

On the other hand, the creditor position of Germany and other countries since 1952 brought with it the danger that credits to the EPU would be offset by a

corresponding increase of money in circulation. A national central bank, which in such an eventuality is the actual financial backer of the EPU, has to settle with its own exporters in local currency, so that new money is being created within the country, whereas this money should be neutralized for precisely that period during which the credit to the Union is running. Thus inflation, the almost exclusive cause of the deficit of debtor countries, is extended to creditor countries without these being able to protect themselves.

Western Germany has profited by her membership of the Union because she has kept to the basic principles of the organization. She took advantage of the "escape-clause" once, but as a temporary expedient and then only to the extent which was absolutely necessary. The measures required for the re-establishment of internal financial equilibrium having been adopted, she continued the policy of liberalization and reduced import restrictions to a minimum. Hence, if it should prove necessary to continue the European Payments Union, this will be possible only on the basis of such discipline, that is to say, by making the tested principles of recent European monetary policy much more strictly binding on member countries and by rendering it more difficult in the future for "disobedient" members to compensate for the failure of their policy by falling back upon import controls which are harmful to other countries in the Union.

any pressing occasion required the attendance of a surgeon or physician from London, the distance caused a considerable delay. Her Royal Highness's confinement was expected to take place about the end of October, and the period between that time and the final issue was strongly marked by symptoms of approaching labour. Her Royal Highness was in extreme pain for more than forty-eight hours, yet each bulletin declared, "The princess is doing extremely well." At half-past twelve A. M. her Royal Highness became uneasy and very restless; she exhibited much difficulty of breathing, and at half-past two — expired.

The substance of this detail found its way into the daily journals, and excited, as it was naturally calculated to do, much remark and inquiry. The generally received opinion was, that the lamented heiress to the crown had been wantonly suffered to perish, from the folly of etiquette, or some other unnatural and unexplained cause. We, however, are not bound to surrender our judgment to a journalist, or to subscribe to the opinion of any man less acquainted with a particular subject than ourselves; and, upon this melancholy and tragical event, therefore, we shall dare to give utterance to truth. In doing so, we beg to state that we are not influenced by personal resentment, but, in the discharge of our task, are determined only to award "honour where honour is due."



## DR. ROBERT PFERDMENGES

Chairman of the Federal Association of the German Private  
Banking Industry

*Robert Pferdmenges was born on March 27, 1880, in Moenchengladbach in the Rhineland. In 1902 he joined the Disconto-Gesellschaft in Berlin and, in 1919, became a member of the Managing Board of the A. Schaafhausen'sche Bankverein, which was closely associated with the Disconto-Gesellschaft. From January 1, 1931 until December 1953, Dr. Pferdmenges was a partner in the banking house of Sal. Oppenheim, junior, and Co., Cologne. From 1922 to 1932, he was Chairman of the Union of Banks and Bankers in the Rhineland and Westphalia. During this period he was also for some time a member of the Central Committee of the Reichsbank and, finally, of its Central Council. Dr. Pferdmenges was President of the Cologne Chamber of Commerce and Industry from June 1945 to September 1946. He is a member of the Administrative Council of the Land Central Bank of Northrhine-Westphalia, in Duesseldorf, and, since 1949, has been Chairman of this body. In December 1950, Dr. Pferdmenges took his seat in the Federal Parliament as a CDU member.*

## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

On August 14, 1952, the Federal Republic became a member of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. By joining these two organizations, the Federal Government demonstrated its intention to carry out all measures in the field of currency policy in the spirit of the Bretton Woods Agreement and in such a way as to facilitate the restoration of the free convertibility of currencies. On the other hand, the Federal Republic now has the opportunity to avail itself of the resources of the International Monetary Fund, in accordance with the existing provisions, for the purpose of overcoming acute short-term embarrassments in its balance of payments which might arise in the future; in addition, it has acquired the right to take advantage of the credit facilities of the International Bank.

### A. International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The terms for Germany's accession were laid down after extensive negotiations between the Federal Government and the IMF and are set forth in the resolution of the Executive Board of April 24, 1952. The quota of the Federal Republic was fixed at \$ 330 million and has been subscribed partly in gold and partly in DM.

By agreement between the Federal Republic and the IMF, an official par value was fixed for the Deutsche Mark, on January 30, 1953, which was a confirmation of the value already existing. The communiqué of the IMF on the par value of the Deutsche Mark reads as follows: "The equivalents for the Deutsche Mark in terms of gold and in terms of the United States dollar of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944 are as follows:

0.211588	grams of fine gold per Deutsche Mark;
147.00	Deutsche Marks per troy ounce of fine gold;
4.20	Deutsche Marks per U.S. Dollar;
23.8095	U.S. cents per Deutsche Mark."

However, like most of the other member states, the Federal Republic is not in a position to abandon unilaterally the system of currency restrictions at this juncture. Following its accession to the Fund, the Federal Republic therefore informed the IMF that it would avail itself of the provisions of Article XIV, Section 2, which permit the maintenance of restrictions on payments and transfers in respect to international transactions for a transitional period.

Having accepted membership in the organization, the Federal Republic has acquired the right to designate a Governor and his Deputy. Dr. Vocke, President of the Bank deutscher Länder, has been appointed Governor, and Dr. H. K. von Mangoldt-Reiboldt, his Deputy. On the Board of Executive Directors, the Federal Republic is represented by Dr. Emminger, who is Executive Director, and by Dr. Donner, Deputy Executive Director. With its 3,550 votes out of a present total of 99,365, Germany ranks sixth among the member states of the International Monetary Fund.

#### B. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

As in the case of the International Monetary Fund, the Federal Republic's subscription quota of the shares of the Bank's capital stock was fixed at \$ 330 million. In accordance with the number of its shares, the Federal Republic here also ranks sixth among the member states and has 3,550 votes, the same number as in the International Monetary Fund.

Federal Economics Minister Professor Erhard was appointed Governor of the Bank, and Finance Minister Schaeffer, his Deputy. On the Board of Executive Directors, the Federal Republic is represented by Dr. Zahn, Executive Director.

The Federal Republic's accession to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has rendered it possible for funds of the Bank to be made available in the future for projects in Germany.

As regards the DM portion of the quota which the Federal Republic has paid into the funds of the Bank, the latter may, subject to the consent of the Federal Government, grant credits therefrom to other countries. Such a credit has been made available once already in connection with a European project. The granting of further loans will depend upon the amount of Deutsche Marks the Federal Government is able to raise, and the degree to which it considers projects proposed to the International Bank to be suitable for German participation.

## THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

On April 18, 1951, at a solemn ceremony in Paris, the Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, signed the agreement on the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. With this community the first supranational state organization with direct state power was created, and upon it the national states of Germany, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands conferred some of their own state sovereignty. *By the foundation of a common High Authority in which was vested direct power of intervention and control, a first attempt was made to further the unification of Europe in the economic field on the basis of functional integration.* In this connection, special political significance must be attached to the fact that the very spheres of national economy which provide the foundation for any armament production, namely coal mining and the iron and steel industry, are detached from their national bonds and placed under a common supranational High Authority.

The merging of sovereign state rights in the field of the coal and steel industries is intended to combat the economic decay of Europe and to create a supranational institution bearing in itself the obligation to continue to work towards a comprehensive European community. The objective of the Schuman Plan is to detach the coal and steel industries of the individual member states from their national economic bonds, and to incorporate them into a common market in which state boundaries shall be of practically no importance.

The agreement on the European Coal and Steel Community covers the entire coal and ore mining industry, the iron and steel industry and the scrap-metal industry.

#### *The Economic Importance of the European Coal and Steel Community for the European and German Economies*

A comparison of the following figures will show the economic importance of this agreement.

#### *Area and Coal and Iron Ore Resources Number of Inhabitants and Persons employed in 1951/52*

	Area (1,000 sq. miles)	Population (in millions)	Persons employed (in millions)
Community (ECSC)	437	159	74
Great Britain	94	51	23
USA	3,020	158	60
USSR	8,598	208	110

The following statistics, however, indicate the amount of work which must still be done in order to raise the purchasing power of Europe to such an extent that economic conditions approaching those which have prevailed in America for years are brought about.

#### *National Income and Consumption in 1952 (1951)*

	National Income		Real Con- sumption per head (\$)	Steel Con- sumption per head in 1951 (lbs)	Power Con- sumption in 1951 (in tons of coal) per head
	total amount (in billion \$)	per head (\$)			
Community (ECSC)	83.5	528	386	367	2.15
Great Britain	35.0	694	518	640	4.65
USA	288.3	1,848	1,355	1,340	8.02
USSR	70.0	336	263	321	1.60

By the ECSC Agreement, 250 billion tons of coal reserves and 3,034 million tons of iron ore reserves are placed under the control of a supranational



and, on his arrival, her Majesty presented him with the letter, the contents of which proved, beyond doubt, that the writer had been an eye-witness to some particular events connected with the dissolution of the much lamented and tenderly beloved princess.

The letter commenced with the most respectful dedication to royalty, and prayed for an extra extension of candour and patience by her Majesty, while the facts of which it was composed were examined and duly considered. The writer then proceeded : " I am perfectly satisfied your Majesty could not be personally aware of the case, because of the distance your Majesty then was from Claremont ; but I submit it to your Majesty's good feeling and judgment, if the particulars attendant upon this most lamentable loss ought not immediately to be most strictly inquired into. Refusal to do this, or to permit it being done, will only aggravate the matter, instead of setting the question at rest for ever. The public well know that all was not as it ought to have been, — that something had been neglected, or imprudently attempted, that ought to have received a widely different attention. As a proof that I do not intrude my remarks and remonstrances improperly, or without information upon the nicest points of the case, I will give reasons for my dissatisfaction. From the first moment Sir Richard Croft was placed in attendance upon her Royal Highness, there was

authority. Almost two million people within the Community are exclusively employed in the development of these resources and for the production of iron and steel.

### *Germany, the Most Important Partner*

*As regards both the coal and steel industries, Germany is the most important partner in this new European community.* In 1953 the Federal Republic's share in the total output of coal in the countries of the European Coal and Steel Community amounted to approximately 52.5 per cent, and in the production of crude steel to almost 39 per cent.

This is the reason why the German iron and coal industry in particular sets its hopes on the work of the European Coal and Steel Community. As a result of the severe damage suffered during the war, above all by plants of the iron and steel industries, large-scale investments seem to be called for. The planning and the realization of these investments will be facilitated if permanent employment is ensured by means of a generous European marketing program. The method by which this objective can be reached is apparent from the above comparison of statistics of consumption. The production of crude steel in Europe was almost 42 million tons for the year 1952 and approximately 39.5 million tons for 1953. Of these amounts, the Federal Republic contributed 15.8 and 15.4 million tons respectively. The primary short-term aim of the High Authority is to increase the production of crude steel to approximately 50 million tons within the next five years. In this output, too, Germany will have an essential share, as the expansion

and modernization of her iron and steel industry were resumed with great energy after the abolition of restrictions on production. Corresponding measures have been taken in the coal industry. In 1952 and 1953, the output of coal in Schuman Plan countries was between 235 and 240 million tons, of which the mines of the Federal Republic contributed almost 125 million tons. The first aim of the High Authority is to increase the output of coal to 280 million tons within the next five years, and it is assumed that the essential part of this output, too, will come from the Federal Republic.

These plans no doubt constitute the first step towards bringing European economy, and thus German economy, nearer to the level of development of the United States. Thus an important step will have been taken to close the gap between the Old World and the New which has widened more and more during the past decades, as a result of the partitioning of continental Europe into ever smaller national economic units. The closing of this gap between Europe and America would be greatly to the advantage of all people living on the territory of the Old Continent.

However, experience up to the present has shown that it will not be easy for the European Coal and Steel Community to realize its aims. The year 1953 brought stagnation and partial setback. And there are further reasons why it is unlikely that this example of partial integration will be followed in other fields, such as agriculture. The next steps must be taken in the political field, and they, by their very nature, will strengthen the foundations of the European Coal and Steel Community.

and family will finally have cause to regret the delay."

The prince was much displeased that any subject should have dared to take such a liberty as to speak or write an unpleasant truth to any of his noble family, — more especially to the queen. It was an unpardonable transgression; yet, as the gentleman had given his name and address, it was a very delicate affair. The queen had so often witnessed the prostration of the multitudes of fashion's votaries, that she imagined much might be accomplished by commanding an interview, and subduing the voice of inquiry and truth by the splendour of pageantry, and the intoxicating smile of royalty. By her Majesty's command, therefore, an interview took place. With her general air of confidence, the queen said, "I presume, sir, you are the author of this letter?" "I am, please your Majesty." "And what," said the queen, "am I to understand from such an unaccountable appeal to me and my family?" "I beg your Majesty's pardon personally, as well as previously by letter, but I deemed it my duty to inform your Majesty of my information upon the subject in question, and I am very sorry if your Majesty does not think it necessary to have the most prudent means used to satisfy the public inquiry." The queen was very gracious, and smiling, said, "I will name your good intentions to the prince regent, and I will not forget them myself; but

# GERMAN INDUSTRY AND OTHER BRANCHES OF ECONOMY

## CHANGES IN STRUCTURE

The rise in production in Western Germany since 1948, although but a catching-up on a development which had begun earlier in other European countries, has been in many ways extraordinary, when one considers what radical changes the defeat of 1945 and, even more, the ringing-down of the Iron Curtain brought about in the structure of industry.

Only the most important factors forcing West German industry to adapt its productive structure to the basically altered circumstances can be sketched here.

### *General Consequences of the War*

By 1945 the capacity of Western Germany's industry had been reduced by about 12% by war damage. Another 8% was lost through dismantling, which, in the main, was concentrated on the iron industry, shipbuilding, steel construction, clockwork mechanism, and the petroleum fuel industry.

In the first years after the end of the war, Western Germany was forced to make compulsory exports of raw materials (1947: 80% of total exports) such as timber, scrap iron, coal, the deprivation of which badly hampered production. West German exports were severely restricted and under the surveillance of the American and British Military Governments, represented by the Joint Export Import Agency (JEIA). There was an almost complete lack of raw materials from abroad since, up to 1948, practically only food and agricultural products were imported.

### *Industrial Production in Western Germany*

Principal Groups of Industries	1936 = 100					Increase in 1953 over 1948 (%)	
	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	
General Index	63	90	113	135	145	158	151
Mining	81	96	106	117	125	129	59
Raw Materials and Production Goods	57	84	107	126	131	143	151
Capital Goods	51	83	114	151	170	176	246
Consumer Goods	54	86	113	131	135	155	187
Foodstuffs	80	99	112	119	127	148	85
Power Production	112	136	154	181	199	212	89
Building *	—	89	109	128	145	176	—

\* Statistics for 1948 not available

Prohibitions and restrictions on production imposed by the Allied Occupying Powers affected the manufacture of industrial goods particularly in the first few years after the collapse, both in relation to delivery dates and quantity. In 1949 the absolute

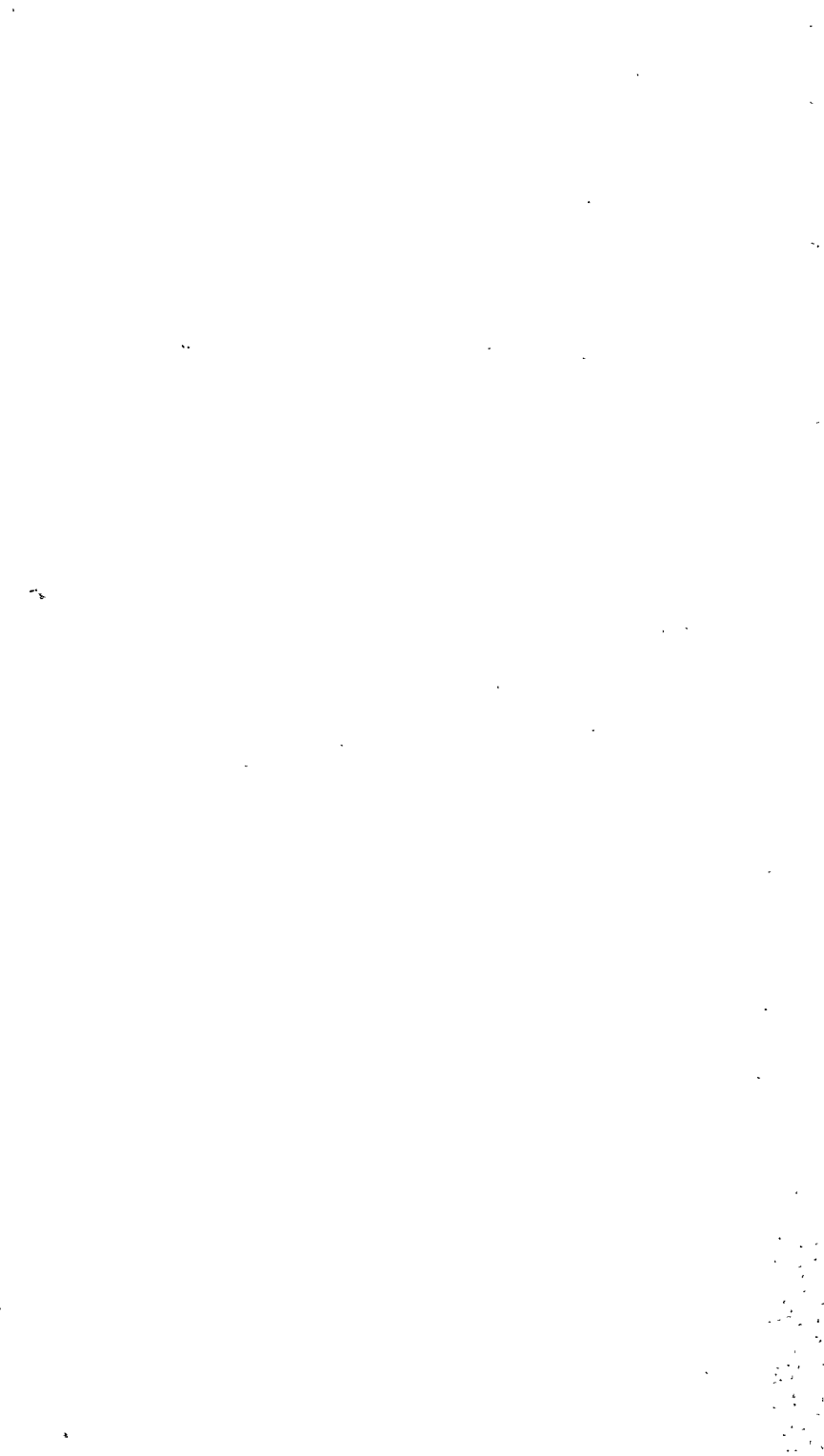
prohibitions were altered to restrictions (e.g., on raw aluminum, magnesium, heavy tools, electronic valves, etc.) most of which were not lifted until April 1951.

### *Consequences of Zonal Division*

The organic growth of pre-war German industry was shattered by the division of the country into zones. Western Germany, once most closely linked to Central and Eastern Germany, is today almost hermetically sealed off from its former natural economic partners. The so-called inter-zonal trade of the Federal Republic with the Russian-occupied part of Germany amounted in 1952 to less than 1% of Western Germany's exports and imports.

### *Proportions of the various industrial branches that have remained to Western Germany*

Principal Industries		The percentages given below show what proportion of the 1936 turnover of individual branches arose in the present territory of the Federal Republic	
Raw Material and Production Goods Industry	66		
Mining (excl. Production of Mineral Oils)	65		
Iron and Steel Foundries	77		
Non-Ferrous Metal Industry	63		
Petroleum Fuels (incl. Production of Mineral Oils)	65		
Stone, Gravel and Earth	62		
Chemical Industry (including synthetic fibers and processing of plastics)	65		
Rubber and Asbestos	77		
Paper Mills	48		
Wood Working Industries	57		
Capital Goods Industry	61		
Machine Construction	58		
Vehicle Building	68		
Iron, Steel and Metal Goods	70		
Iron and Steel Construction, Shipbuilding	77		
Electrical Industry	38		
Precision Engineering and Optics	50		
Consumer Goods Industry	53		
Glass and Pottery	48		
Wood Manufacture	60		
Paper and Printing	50		
Leather Industry	72		
Textiles	55		
Clothing	39		
All Groups	61		



For many goods, Western Germany had either no production facilities at all or wholly inadequate ones after the lowering of the Iron Curtain. For instance, the productive capacity of many branches of the textile industry was insufficient for newly-created Western Germany. There were no hosiery, and almost no curtain and tulle mills. There was almost no machinery for knitting, warp-weaving, and spinning. The ore required for Western Germany's non-ferrous metal industry was to a large extent lost through zonal division. Central and Eastern Germany were the home of the bulk of the clothing industry, glass blowing, lignite mining and processing, printing works, important parts of the optical and photographic industries and paper making, but, above all, of the electrical industry. The exemplary integrated system of the chemical industry, geared to the entire German market, was destroyed.

If the zonal division of 1945 tore considerable gaps in the production program of certain branches of industry, it also left capacity in others which was too great for the truncated west German territory, having regard to the loss of its customers on the further side of the zonal border. This was the case, for instance, in the leather industry, in the iron, sheet-iron and metal industries; in saw mills which, in addition to their markets, lost those areas east of the Oder-Neisse line with a timber surplus, and in the agricultural machinery industry.

It was clear that west German industry would now have to step up the production of those goods which had so far been available from Central and Eastern Germany, while those sectors which had surplus capacity would have difficulties in selling their products even when business in general was prosperous. The necessary adjustment looked like being an almost impossible task, yet it was accomplished with surprising speed.

In those industries which, in 1945, were left with a comparatively small capacity, the law of supply and demand made itself felt where the prices of their products were freed from control after 1948; that is to say, prices hardened in accordance with the relative scarcity of the goods. The consequent rise in profits permitted increasing reinvestment without recourse to credits, and adequate productive capacity was gradually built up. Conversely, competition and downward pressure on prices and production had their effect on those sectors of industry which, in 1945, had retained relatively large productive capacity.

#### *Changes in Structure of Industries*

By 1948 already, there had been differential developments in the various branches of industry as compared with 1936. The ensuing increases in production from 1948 to 1953 led to further divergences. The rate of increase for this period ranges from 36 per cent to 728 per cent; in one case it even exceeds 1,300 per cent.

### *Differential Growth in West German Industry 1948 to 1953*

Increase in total industrial production (excl. building) = 150 per cent 1936 = 100			
Groups of Industries	1948	1953	Percentage Increase
<i>Increase below Average</i>			
Saw Mills and Wood Working	72	98	36
Coal Mining	79	113	43
Food	119	177	49
Mining of Metallic Ore	97	152	57
Gas Production	79	136	72
Plate Glass Manufacture	93	163	75
Leather Manufacture	40	76	90
Electricity Production	123	236	92
Shoes	49	94	92
Rubber Processing	82	166	102
Drawing and Cold Rolling Mills	41	85	107
China and Pottery	64	134	109
Mining of Iron Ore	88	186	111
Potash and Salt Mining	88	191	117
Synthetic Fibers	133	297	123
Cellulose and Paper Manufacture	52	120	131
Stone, Gravel and Earth	51	118	132
Iron, Steel and Malleable			
Cast Iron Foundries	44	106	141
Non-Ferrous Metal (semi-finished)	46	113	146
<i>Increase above Average</i>			
Chemical Industry	70	182	160
Hollow Glass Ware	94	246	162
Iron and Steel	38	102	169
Iron, Sheet Iron and Metal Ware	47	129	174
Breweries	41	115	181
Textiles	51	145	184
Steel Construction	39	117	200
Electrical Industry	106	319	201
Machine Construction	56	185	230
Non-Ferrous Shear Metal Works	40	133	233
Mineral Oil Production	143	492	244
Tobacco Manufacture	33	116	251
Precision Engineering and			
Optics	53	195	268
Shipbuilding	27	108	300
Vehicle Building	30	202	573
Mineral Oil Refining	32	265	728
Non-Ferrous Light Metals	15	212	1,313

Generally speaking, those industries which, in 1948, had already surpassed the average for industry as a whole, stood above average in 1953 also. The only exceptions were coal mining, saw-milling and wood working, where growth was relatively most retarded. Coal mining is, by its very nature, not as capable of short-term expansion as other industries. Expansion of the production of saw mills was limited by timber shortage in the Federal Republic.

Among those branches which, in 1948, were less productive than the average for industry as a whole, certain sections stand out by their above-average growth in the following years; these are, above all, the chief capital goods industries, such as machine construction, vehicle building,

determinations were very dissimilar. Her Majesty was endeavouring to evade explanation; the gentleman, meditating upon the most prudent plan for adoption to put a period to the agitated feelings of the public.

The reader may imagine that this professional person had been previously selected to render his services to some members of this illustrious family, which was actually the case. He had travelled more than twenty miles in the royal carriage, and had performed the most delicate offices. He knew royalty was not exempt from frailty, and that rank did not preserve its possessors from the commission of crime. Denial of this would prove abortive, for the gentleman lives, and would, if called upon, assert the same even at the expense of life. He does not fear the interdiction of a crowned head; neither would he shrink under "a special commission." He wields the two-edged sword of truth, and therefore defies the strong arm of power. He has seen enough of the wily snares of courtiers, and has retired from the unhallowed association with feelings of disgust, contempt, and detestation. The adulation of the parasites of royalty is odious to his ear; and, to save the increasing stings of an offended conscience, he is now publicly explicit upon this hateful subject. Despising secrecy and infamy, he openly avows enmity to such characters as are leagued against the peace and happiness of soci-

precision engineering and optics, steel construction and, to a lesser extent, the iron, sheet iron, and metal industries. The most marked growth since 1948 is shown by the non-ferrous light metal industry and mineral oil refining. Both were at a very low level in 1948.

Up to the beginning of 1948, the light metal sector was restricted by prohibitions (raw aluminum). In the oil sector, refining capacity suffered heavily during the war; in addition, only relatively small quantities of German mineral oil were available for processing. At that time, Germany had to import petrol instead of crude oil, as the hydrogenizing plants were not allowed to function and a part of the installations had been dismantled. It was only in 1949, that the possibility was offered of refining imported crude oil in the hydrogenizing plants and thereby of saving foreign currency. Oil refining, which was able to draw on increasing supplies of German mineral oils then went up by leaps and bounds.

#### *The New Structure*

With these adjustments west German industry in 1953 had acquired a structure which differs markedly from the industrial framework of the Germany of 1936: while the share in total turnover of the raw

materials and production goods industries remained more or less the same, the share of the consumer goods industries contracted, and that of the capital goods industries increased as compared with 1936.

#### *Comparative Turnover 1936 and 1953*

Principal Groups of Industries	1936	1953
	German Reich (as a percentage of total turnover)	Federal Republic
Raw materials and Production Goods	38.6	38.2
Capital Goods	31.1	34.6
Consumer Goods	30.3	27.2
All Groups	100.0	100.0
In 1,000 millions RM/DM (at 1936 prices)	44.4	46.3

The comparative increase in their share over 1936 of most groups in the capital goods industries is partly accounted for by the need for increased exports, and partly by the technological advances in industry as a whole.

Apart from special fields, the reconstruction of west German industry may be said to be concluded. Structural changes are, therefore, not likely to influence any further expansion of production to the same extent as heretofore.

## THE RUHR AS THE FOCAL POINT OF EUROPE

The German economic and social structure as a whole will always be conditioned by the stability of the largest single industrial area in Germany and Europe — the Ruhr. The national economy can never be healthier or more efficient than the economy of this small territory in the heart of North-rhine-Westphalia.

This fundamental relationship should never be forgotten whatever details or statistical data about economy or technical progress are assembled and interpreted concerning the "Revier" (as the industrial center on and around the Ruhr river is called). Just as Germany has always needed the strength of the Ruhr, so today Europe needs the Ruhr, its economic capacity, and the industry of its population. In the European Steel and Coal Community the territory represents the largest and most important potential. Thus the economy of the Ruhr has now grown out of its essentially German function and has won for itself an important — if not the most important — role in the general economic integration of Europe.

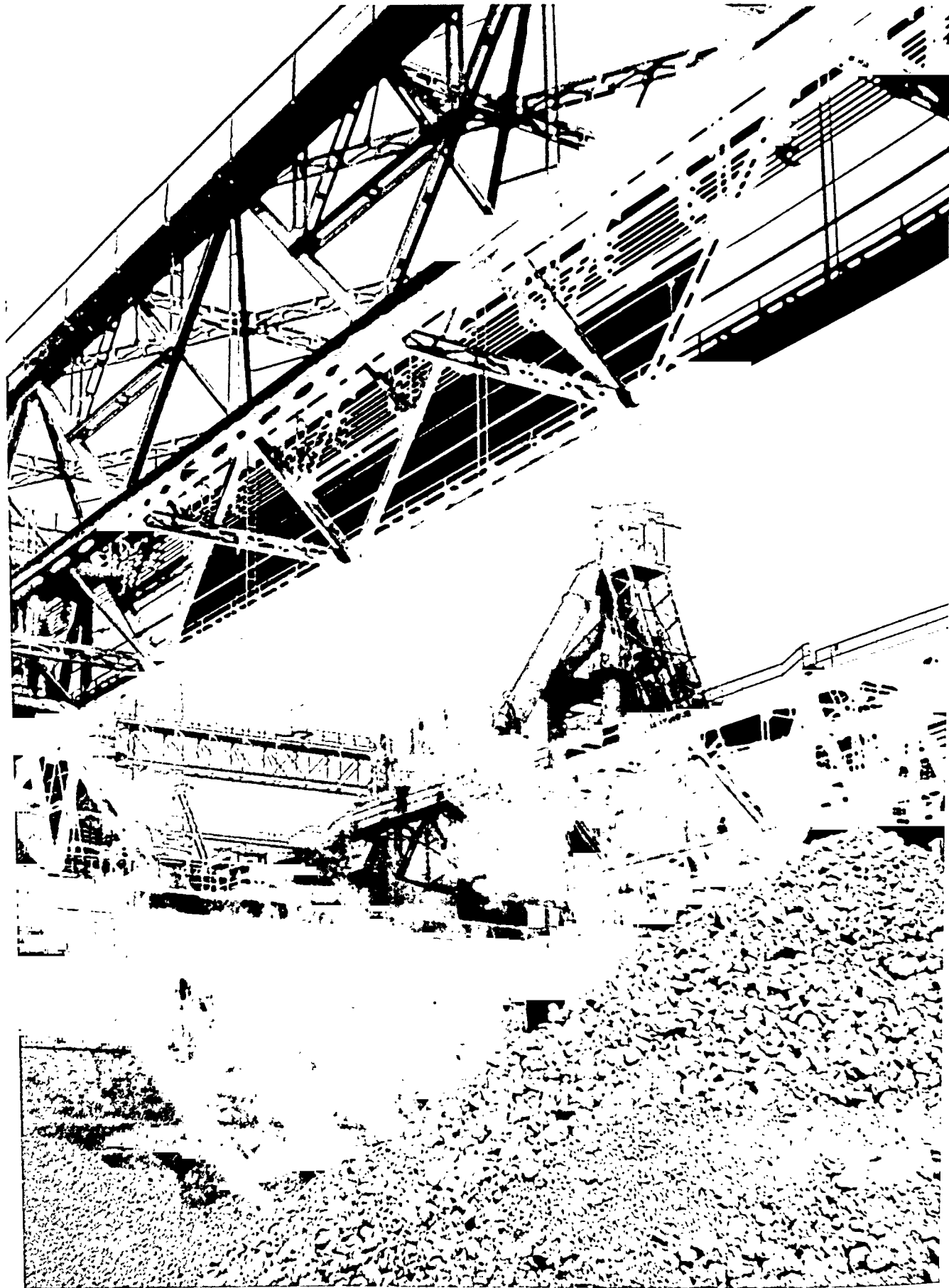
This development poses a whole series of new and difficult problems to be solved by the Ruhr economy, problems which may be reduced to the self-evident proposition that no policy of economic integration for Europe has any prospect of success unless the constituent national industries have attained at least an approximately equal level of technical and economic progress as a basis for their operations.

The spectacle of rapid recovery offered by the Ruhr today rather leads people to forget that the front, in the last weeks of the war, ran straight through the "Revier" and that, when firing ceased, the Ruhr, with its intense concentration of industry and consequent enormous population density (the territory contains over 5 million people, i.e., more than 40 per cent of the total population of North-rhine-Westphalia or more than 10 per cent of that of the whole Federal Republic), was bleeding from a thousand wounds. Today the pithead wheels are again humming, coal is being brought to the surface as of old, the night sky is red with the glow of furnaces, the air is filled with the pulsing rhythm of the rolling mills turning out an endless river of steel, new bridges and roads have been built, the miners are living in new housing estates, the big cities associated with world-famous steel and coal firms have grown still closer together, and the earth yields up the coal more willingly since a policy of rationalization and modernization has introduced the most modern coal cutting machines in order to husband the strength of the miner and spare him at least a little fatigue. Life — rough, vigorous, noisy and hard — has once more returned to the Ruhr.

The road from the desolation of 1945 to the prosperity of today was a hard and difficult one. The destruction of war was aggravated by losses through dismantling. When this began, there was







*Blast furnaces in the Ruhr*

only was extracted ; the intestines were not removed. This was an unprecedented circumstance, as upon all former occasions this barbarous custom had been permitted. The surgeon who accompanied Prince Leopold from Germany was solicited to say why this form had been omitted ; and his suspicious reply was, "Neither now, nor at any future time, shall any power on earth induce me to speak one word upon the subject." He was then requested to give into the hand of Prince Leopold a sealed letter upon the subject ; this he also positively refused to do, adding, at the same time, "The prince would not receive it." Very shortly afterward, a letter was conveyed into the prince's hand, offering "to communicate certain facts relative to the demise of the late princess, his consort, if he pleased to express his willingness to receive the same." His Serene Highness never paid attention to that letter.

It was said, at the time of her Royal Highness's death, that Prince Leopold was so angry with the nurse (Mrs. Griffiths) that he turned her out of the house, without permitting her to stay to attend the funeral. One thing, however, is certain, that she has several sons in different public offices. To one of these, her favourite, she said (when labouring under the effects of a dreadful illness she had shortly after the princess's death), "I have never kept but one horrid secret from you, which has always weighed upon my mind ; but I cannot com-

no recognized political or state authority in Germany which could treat with the Allies on an equal footing and bring forward convincing arguments. The Government of Land Northrhine-Westphalia did everything in its power to prevent the most serious losses of substance. The struggle for survival during the years of dismantling was hard and tenacious, an incessant battle had to be waged for every ton of steel. What the German national economy lost in the Ruhr during the years after 1945 it regained, when dismantling and other economic restrictions were discontinued, in the form of a new spirit of enterprise and also of a new sort of co-operation between management and labor in keeping with the needs of the times.

Behind the figures which illustrate the position of Northrhine-Westphalia in the German national economy and the importance of the Ruhr for Europe and the world at large, behind the percentages by which the stages of the recovery of the Ruhr are measured, and behind all statistics concerning production in the Ruhr stands the human element. On the Ruhr this is no idle phrase. More than two million human beings work directly in what we call the Ruhr economy, and this figure is multiplied several times if we take into consideration the numerous feeder industries and the people they employ; for the economy of the Ruhr is not conditioned by mining, steel, power supply or chemicals alone: a whole series of secondary industries are active in its service, supplying technical equipment, transport, factory installations and every other imaginable requirement. Here again we see how closely the Ruhr is interwoven with the whole national economy.

We repeat: behind everything that happens in the Ruhr is the human element. It was there already when the industrialization of the nineteenth century gave the bold and courageous their great chance to participate in the general economic progress. The biographies of the world-famous industrial personalities who have influenced the development of the territory read like novels, but they are reality which reaches across the decades to our times. The great work, the foundation and consolidation of what is today called the Ruhr economy — and rightly so called, because, despite every attempt to disrupt it, it embodies the indissoluble

community of political, economic and industrial interests of the individual enterprises in the territory — this work, when all allowances have been made for the favorable geographical and market conditions which aided the development of the Ruhr, is still essentially the work of the man in the Ruhr: *das Ruhrvolk*. Ruhrvolk? This word expresses clearly how close is the human contact between the men of the pits and furnaces, the rolling mills and offices and, also, of the farms and pastures which still survive and flourish in the very shadow of the smokestacks. The Ruhr has its own way of life. Life underground or before the ribbon of molten iron or shrieking steel, in the clammy air of the cities, in the research laboratories and business offices of the Revier — life in these surroundings must necessarily put a particular stamp on men. But it must also give a new value to personality and a new understanding for labor as a factor in production. The most astonishing thing in this respect is that all changes in the social structure of the Ruhr — that gigantic sponge which absorbs men from every province and corner of Germany — have never taken place under the pressure of political extremism. The reason for this is that not only the employers, but also the parliaments and governments of Northrhine-Westphalia and of the Federal Republic have shown a great degree of perspicacity, adaptability, and capacity for making reasonable decisions in every phase of post-war development. The same is true of the trade unions which, in the Ruhr, do not demand more than is compatible with the realities of the economic situation. A survey of the present position in the Ruhr from the economic and social viewpoints can only be a picture of positive achievement. Naturally, this does not mean that everything is perfect. Here, as everywhere else, there exist certain weaknesses which, if they were not overcome, might end by disrupting the economic and social stability so recently regained. This is particularly true of the condition of heavy industry, which is in search of a definite form of European economic integration. The Ruhr is once again quick with the great dynamic forces which have determined its economic and human destiny for generations. This dynamic outlook in management and workers still remains the vital law of the "Revier".

## COAL MINING

The war and its aftermath dealt European coal mining a destructive blow unprecedented in history. At the beginning of 1945, hard coal output in Germany was barely sufficient to cover what the few pits still in production required to continue operations. Altogether about 10 per cent of all surface installations were totally destroyed and another 25 per cent so seriously damaged as to make their immediate reactivation impossible. Production fell

to 30,000 tons per working day. 45 per cent of all miners' homes were uninhabitable.

### *Reconstruction after 1945*

This was the position from which the reconstruction of coal mining had to begin. In its efforts to achieve this reconstruction, the German coal mining administration, set up in 1947 and controlled, as it was, by the Allied Coal Control Group, was limited in

as a spy about her Royal Highness even from her infancy.

The last time the prince regent was at Claremont, not long before the princess's confinement, a most respectable gentleman heard him say, "A child of the Princess Charlotte shall never sit upon the throne." Did not this speak volumes as to her intended destruction? Surely no one can doubt, after these disclosures, that the Princess Charlotte fell a victim to a vile conspiracy.

The murder of the Princess Charlotte proved the signal for letting loose the hounds of destruction upon her heart-broken mother. On the second day after her Majesty's return to Bath, a lady had a private audience with her. The object of the interview was to offer the services of her husband (an officer in the navy) in the impeachment and intended destruction of the honour of the Princess of Wales. "What situation does the person occupy?" said the queen. "He is a lieutenant, please your Majesty." "What would be deemed a sufficient recompense for his attentions?" said her Majesty. "Your Majesty's good opinion is all my husband aspires to," said the lady; and, after a few unmeaning expressions of civility, she retired. Lord Liverpool was consulted, and gave his opinion that the person in question could not be implicitly relied on; and a messenger was therefore sent to the gentleman, according to the address left by his wife, declining the offered ser-





day, had risen, by April 1952, to about 403 tons per day. In July 1948, only 5.5 per cent of West Germany's hard coal production (6.1 per cent of level seams) was mined wholly or partly by mechanical means. In April 1952, this had risen to 26.3 per cent (38 per cent of level seams).

Fully and partly mechanized pits with prop-free coal faces, the so-called new-type faces, today produce about 106,000 tons per working day. The Federal Republic's hard coal industry, in fact, has achieved a degree of overall mechanization which is exceeded only in the United States. This is true both of the absolute quantity of coal mined by modern methods (including wholly or partly mechanized loading processes) and of the proportion it represents of total production. In view of the well-known geological and structural difficulties with which the west German coal mines have to contend, this is a remarkable achievement.

Not only do partly and fully mechanized coalfaces today considerably exceed, in average daily stints and actual production per heading, manually operated coal faces, but they are also appreciably in advance of the corresponding achievements at the beginning of 1941: and this despite the fact that in those days shifts of eight-and-three-quarter hours were worked, and that the west German coal industry still had at its disposal a nucleus of experienced workers far greater than it has today.

Today's production figure of 4.4 tons per coal face in level seams reflects not only the mechanization of coal cutting but also the expansion of mechanized backfilling processes.

### *The Workers' Right of Co-determination*

The manifold technical and organizational tasks arising from the urgent need to reactivate hard coal production emphasized the problem of human needs and relations in modern large-scale industry. On December 31, 1951, the so-called "Right of co-determination" (*Mitbestimmungsrecht*) was introduced in the German coal and iron industries. This right, laid down by law, is the result of developments arising from the trade unions' struggle for economic and political power. In this matter the unions profited from the encouragement they received from certain Allied Occupying Powers.

This law implementing the right of co-determination gives workers' representatives on directing boards of the enterprises in question equal rights with the representatives of capital or of the owners. They also have the right to nominate, for every firm, a labor director who is a member of the executive committee. In the view of the employers, the right of co-determination — now, for better or for worse, the law of the land — should benefit the workers, and not only the unions and their paid officials. The employers in the coal-mining industry, who are subject to the obligation of the Law on Co-determination, have, therefore, drawn up a com-

prehensive scheme of labor relations. *The coal industry works on the principle that the worker should be associated more closely with the enterprise. He is to have a share, not only in decisions, but also, logically, in responsibilities.* At the same time, the industry aims at a constructive solution of human problems and tries to foster in the worker that sense of his own dignity which had been replaced, under Hitler, by the principle of collectivism. Moreover, the worker is encouraged to develop a spirit of collaboration. All this demands a process of extensive human re-education, good will on the part of the workers, and a spirit of mutual confidence.

But security in his job is as important to the worker as good labor relations in his firm. And only a productive and economically healthy enterprise can ensure this for him. It is, therefore, in the interests of the workers themselves that they should not ignore economic facts. If they do, they themselves will suffer.

*Co-determination must develop into a productive partnership*, otherwise there is a danger that inadequate productivity will combine with higher wages to raise the price of coal, with inevitable repercussions on the competitive position of the rest of industry. This development contains the dangerous seeds of a new type of monopoly with consequent ill-effects upon a free economy. It would lead to market developments similar to those prevailing in socialized industries.

### *Encouraging the Acquisition of Property*

The miner's living conditions, at work and at home, must, as far as possible, be attuned to the nature of his work. *One of the most important prerequisites is adequate and sanitary housing.* The miner's happiness in his job, his capacity for work, and the needs of production are all interdependent. From this it logically follows that the construction of miners' dwellings cannot be the sole responsibility of the coal industry. For this reason, contributions, laid down by law, are levied on hard coal and lignite for the purpose of housebuilding for miners. The law to promote the building of miners' dwellings pays special attention to the provision of privately-owned houses. In this it meets the perfectly healthy wish of many miners to acquire property — a wish which is also encouraged by the collieries. The desire for house ownership is by no means a recent development among miners. It has at all times been deeply ingrained in the mining community. Conditions for acquiring property in this manner are so favorable that in practice everybody is in a position to have a home of his own, without incurring financial commitments appreciably heavier than the normal rent. The preferential treatment the miner receives when he buys a home of his own puts him under an obligation not to leave the industry. The principle of free choice remains, however, to the extent that he is not tied to any one particular colliery. Beyond providing the miner



Did he require theatres for his churches, or perfumed divines to preach his gospel? Did he interfere with political matters, and exert his energies to enslave the people? We leave these questions to be answered by those locusts of the land, commonly called bishops of the established Church; at the same time we call upon them to reflect whether, if hereafter they should feel inclined to recall the opportunity of conciliating the respect of the country, they will not have the misfortune of finding it much too late.

If our readers were to look over the singular parliamentary proceedings at this gloomy period of our history, they would be forcibly struck with the littleness, servility, and the utter want of intellectual calibre so fully set forth in the characters of those who conducted the solemn mockery of legislation. The most unjust and arbitrary laws were put in force, and the public money allowed to be squandered, without the least inquiry. As a proof of this last remark, we need only mention the fact of ninety thousand pounds being voted for the department of the "master of the horse," who kept thirty saddle and twenty-eight carriage horses for the use of his Majesty, yet the king had never been out of the castle, for more than seven years. This disgraceful squandering of money was carried on, too, when honest citizens and affectionate fathers were incapable of providing bread for themselves and families. Indeed,

with a home of his own, the industry is at present actively exploring other possibilities of helping him to acquire property. One way is by the acquisition of shares and securities through investment trusts which spread the risk.

### *The Problem of Recruitment*

The coal mines are devoting much care and money to the training of efficient recruits. About 25,000 mining apprentices and young mine-workers are currently being trained in schools and other establishments. Mining as a career did not particularly attract young people after the war. We may note with satisfaction that in recent years this attitude has undergone a remarkable change. Young people are now evidently being attracted by the development which has made mining an occupation with prestige and traditions. The young miner today serves a regular apprenticeship which offers him, according to his aptitude and character, considerable opportunities for advancement. Progressive mechanization has appealed to young people's liking for technical occupations. In this way, the problem of recruitment, as far as apprentices are concerned, has, on the whole, been satisfactorily solved. But this, too, has entailed preparatory work on the part of the coal industry far in excess of what is usual or necessary in other industries. Thus, more than 100 mining apprentices' hostels and 10 "Pestalozzi"-\* villages have been established to date. A further fifty or so hostels are still required. These establishments have a beneficial effect, far beyond the immediate requirements of the industry, on private households and families in every part of Germany.

A sound age-structure in the labor force of the pits requires the introduction underground, every year, of a number of juveniles equal to 4.5 per cent of the total number of underground workers. This would require an annual intake, for West Germany's stone coal industry, of 13,000 to 14,000 apprentices. Allowing for a training period of 3 years, there would need to be a total of 40,000 apprentices available. This compares with the present actual figure of 25,000. The reason is that, despite the numerous new apprentices' hostels, there is still a lack of suitable accommodation.

\* These "Pestalozzi-Villages" are individual settlements in which 4 to 6 mining apprentices live with the family of an older, experienced miner.

### *Voluntary Family Assistance*

Since the beginning of 1952, all married men in the mining industry, workers and employees alike, irrespective of the number of shifts worked, receive from their employers, in addition to their wages and salaries, 20 DM per month for every child after the second. This scheme resulted from the realization that a man with a large family has commitments which give him an outlook on his firm and his job different from that of the similarly employed single man or married man with no

children. The family allowances do not represent a watering-down of the principle of piece-work rates. The question arises whether a social problem of this nature should be dealt with by the State or by private industry. In the case of West Germany's hard coal mining, it has been decided to leave it to private industry and the initiative of the employer. So far, however, the Ministry of Finance has not seen its way to making these payments free of tax.

### *Safety in the Mines*

The special conditions of underground work have resulted, ever since mining began in Germany, in constant research and measures to provide miners with every conceivable protection against accidents. With technical progress, precautions against accidents have been increasingly perfected. This work has never ceased, and the search for improved safety devices continues today, as in the past.

An institution famous at home and abroad is the "Hauptstelle für das Grubenrettungswesen" (Central Office for Safety and Rescue in the Mines). It was established as early as 1910, and the entire Ruhr coal industry has joined it voluntarily. The Office is linked with more than 150 pits as well as 76 coking plants and subsidiary installations. Its administrative building, situated between the towns of Essen and Essen-Kray, is furnished with the most up-to-date technical equipment and is considered unique in the world today.

Planned experiments are carried out, in particular, on the testing grounds in Dortmund-Herne, equipped by the "Westfälische Berggewerkschaftskasse" (Westphalian Miners' Union Fund) with the most modern installations. In the course of years, equipment has been evolved which has succeeded to a considerable degree in eliminating the dangers of fire-damp explosions. Among other things, so-called safety explosives have been developed. These are no less effective in their explosive force than more normal explosives, such as dynamite or ecrasite. But they do not cause any fire-damp which may be present to explode.

All these measures call for considerable financial outlay which other industries are spared, and have a considerable influence on the economic viability of collieries. But they cannot be neglected, because the safety of the miner must always be the paramount consideration. Among a host of precautionary measures, we might mention the "filter life-saver" which is now being introduced into the pits. This allows safe breathing in an emergency — fire or explosion. Tests are also being carried out with devices to ensure safe breathing in seams affected by stone-dust to eliminate the cause of silicosis — the miner's most frequent occupational disease. Here, too, all means to safeguard the miner's health are being explored in a widely-based co-operative effort.

## THE LIGNITE INDUSTRY

Before World War II, the German lignite industry comprised three main districts; one in Central Germany, another on the left bank of the Rhine west of Cologne, and the third east of the Elbe. It was a well-ordered industry, efficient in production, processing and distribution. It had long exceeded an annual production of 200 million tons.

The Iron Curtain disrupted this natural order of organic growth. More than two-thirds of the German lignite industry now lie "in the East". Of the large lignite district of Central Germany, only the truncated areas of Helmstedt and Kassel belong to the West. This placed upon the Rhine district, which accounts for roughly 85% of West Germany's production, added responsibilities of leadership, development and supply. In the Helmstedt district, it was possible for several years to work, as it were, immediately beneath the Iron Curtain. But in 1952, the Soviet Zone authorities, with complete disregard for economic realities, took measures in the frontier areas which resulted in the opencast workings being separated from the power station and the briquette factory. The power station at Harbke, on the eastern side of the border, now has to obtain its fuel supply from far away, whereas formerly it had it on its doorstep. To replace the loss of this power station, a new one is being built on the western side, near Offleben.

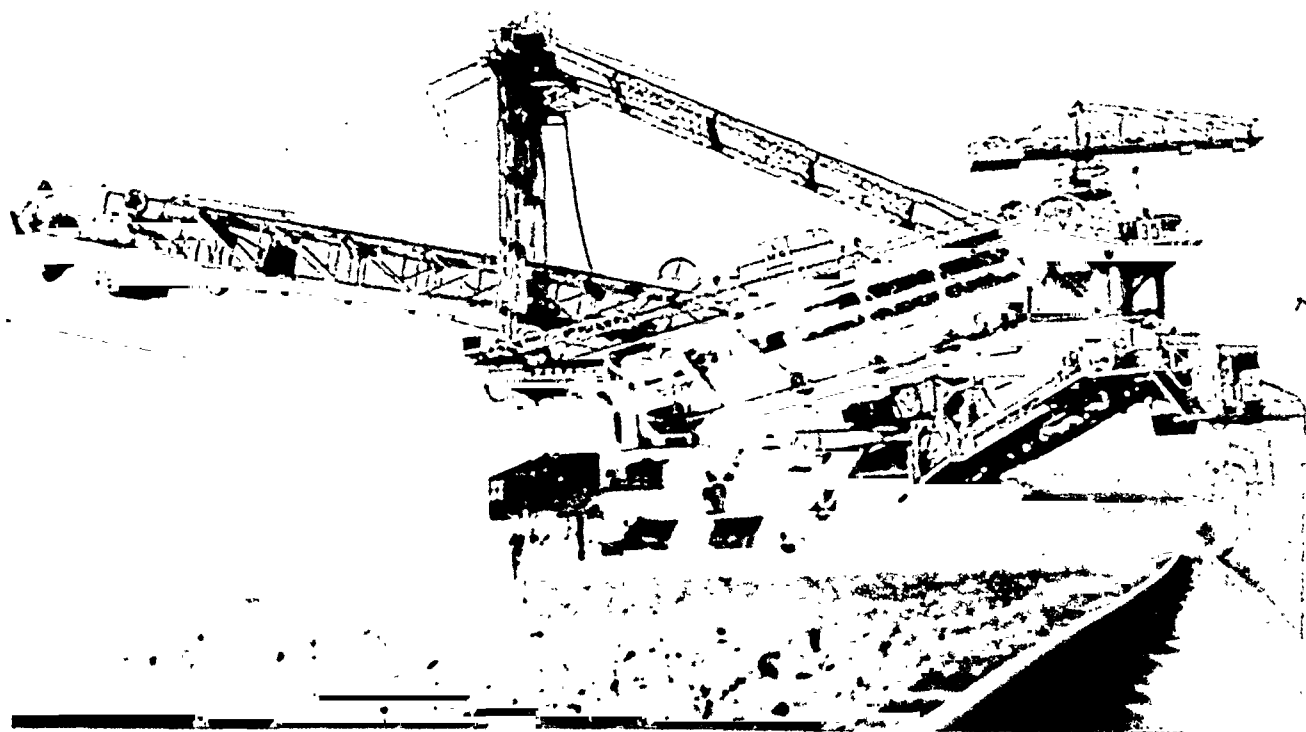
It is expected to start generating in 1954. At present, we have the paradoxical situation that a lignite district, whose chief products are briquettes and electric current, is forced to obtain some of its own current from elsewhere.

The Rhine district was in the front line during the latter part of the war, and much damage had to be repaired before production could be resumed. Nevertheless, by 1946, output had risen to 90% of the pre-war figure.

Present production of the entire west German lignite industry is shown in the table below. It gives comparative figures for lignite, briquettes and electricity, as between 1951, 1952 and 1953.

*Lignite Production in the Federal Republic 1951--1953*

	Rhineland	Helmstedt	Federal Republic
<i>Raw Coal Production in tons</i>			
1951	69,200,190	8,189,117	83,121,297
1952	71,394,148	6,533,157	83,364,493
1953	73,345,159	5,675,787	81,441,284
<i>Briquette manufacture in tons</i>			
1951	14,346,616	1,300,714	15,916,267
1952	14,895,439	1,321,963	16,403,216
1953	15,002,965	1,345,131	16,562,159



*View from the Rhine of the power station at Harbke, in the German lignite district.*

*(Lignite Production, continued)*

	Rhineland	Helmstedt	Federal Republic
<i>Current Generated by Mines' Power Plant in 1000 kwh:</i>			
1951	1,846,392	109,202	1,963,165
1952	2,142,111	117,958	2,268,297
1953	2,145,190	129	2,286,000

In the war year of 1943, a record 68.61 million tons of raw coal were produced in the Rhine district, with reckless disregard for the fatigue of men and machines, and by working barren top-layers equally with rich seams. As early as 1951, in normal and carefully planned production, this figure had been exceeded and a tonnage of 69.2 million achieved.

Firms in the Rhine district shared in lignite production in 1952 as follows:

Rheinische Aktiengesellschaft für Braunkohlenbergbau & Brikettfabrikation	28,348,487 tons
Braunkohlen- und Brikettwerke Roddergrube AG.	27,147,067 tons
Braunkohlen-Industrie AG. "Zukunft"	6,666,821 tons
Braunkohlenbergwerk Neurath AG.	2,980,882 tons
Wilh. Werhahn, Abt. Horremer Brikettfabrik	2,105,950 tons
Braunkohlenbergwerk & Brikettfabrik Liblar GmbH.	1,391,042 tons
Niederrheinische Braunkohlenwerke AG.	1,324,384 tons
Gewerkschaft Hürtherberg	723,797 tons
Arenberg Bergbau GmbH, Abt. Schallmauer	470,401 tons
Victor Rolff KG.	151,743 tons

*The Disposal of Barren Soil*

The mass of barren soil to be moved is constantly rising and passed from 21 million cubic meters in 1946 to 52 million cubic meters in 1952. So far, the Rhine district has enjoyed an extremely favorable ratio of 0.6 units of topsoil to one unit of coal. But very soon now we may expect a ratio of 2.4 units of topsoil to one unit of coal. That is to say, three to four times as much barren soil will have to be removed. The shallow opencast mining practiced so far is gradually giving way to a system of deeper opencast. In workings which descend to a depth of 250 meters (nearly 800 feet), excavators are at work the size of which is unusual even for the Rhine district. A single one ordered in 1952 cost 17 million DM. The present standard equipment—the bucket-and-chain excavator moving on rails—is being replaced by the wheel-and-shovel excavator on tracks.

*Electric Power Production*

To meet the urgent needs of the entire economy, electric power production has had to be stepped up by every possible means. The lignite-fueled power stations, with their latest type switchgear, account for the greatest share of the production increases so far achieved in Germany.

Current Generated by Public Power Stations on Lignite Basis  
1000 million kwh

Current Generated by Briquette Factories  
1000 million kwh

1945	1.04	0.38
1946	2.53	0.94
1947	3.21	1.06
1948	3.84	1.29
1949	4.81	1.59
1950	5.26	1.73
1951	5.99	1.85
1952	7.78	2.14
1953	10.766	2.286

The increase in the electricity supply came not only from public power stations, but also from the power plants of the pits. Every modern briquette factory is simultaneously a plant generating electricity which contributes considerable quantities of electric current to the grid.

*Tasks for the Future*

The overall development since 1945 shows an encouraging picture of constantly growing achievement, and this despite increasing technical and geological difficulties and intensified demand. These results justify the expectation that carefully planned future increases in production will also be achieved. The program for the seven years beginning 1954 is as follows:

	Raw Coal Production mill. tons	Briquette Production mill. tons	Current Generated by Public Power Stations 1000 mill. kwh	Current Generated by Briquette Factories 1000 mill. kwh
1954	78.60	15.60	10.50	2.28
1955	83.30	15.80	13.40	2.39
1956	87.70	16.00	15.90	2.43
1957	89.90	16.00	17.00	2.48
1958	91.80	16.20	17.60	2.53
1959	93.00	16.20	18.20	2.57
1960	94.50	16.30	18.80	2.61

The change-over from shallow to deeper workings and the shift of the center of gravity of lignite production from the south to the north and west impose upon the Rhine district structural changes which will tax its resources to the utmost. In the course of 1954, a large section of the north-south railway, now under construction, will be taken into commission. This will be visible proof of the industry's determination to co-operate in finding new solutions to its problems. This railway, with wagons of 100 and more tons capacity, will become the collecting line of the district. Nearly all large-scale opencast enterprises will be linked to it, and it will ensure the continued viability of the modern power stations and briquette factories in the south for decades to come. It will thus be possible to distribute rationally the supply of opencast coal, so that poor grade coal goes to the power stations, while high-grade briquette coal is entirely reserved for the briquette factories.

This solution will obviate the necessity of moving the workers in the district, who feel at home in the surrounding countryside, to places further afield, with consequent disruption of their family life.

reflections of her mind, while surveying the probability of a speedy dissolution, must have been of a complexion too dreary to be faithfully pictured. She — who had been the arbitress of the fates of nations, whose commands none dared dispute or disobey, and at whose frown numberless sycophants and dependents trembled — was now about to face the dread enemy of mankind. The proud heart of Queen Charlotte must have been humbled at the thought of meeting her judge, who is said to be “no distinguisher of persons.”

During her indisposition, the queen seemed much impressed with the idea that she should recover, and it was not till the 2d of November that the physicians deemed it requisite to acquaint the queen of her danger. The intelligence was given in the most delicate manner possible; yet her Majesty exhibited considerable alarm at the information. It was pressingly hinted by the princesses to their mother, that the sacrament ought to be administered; but the queen positively refused the “holy rite,” saying, “It is of no use, as I am unable to take it.” One of the princesses immediately said, “You do not mean to say that you murdered the Princess Charlotte?” “No,” faintly answered the queen, “but I connived at it.” We pledge ourselves to the truth of this statement, however incredible it may appear to those who have considered Queen Charlotte as “a pattern to her sex.” When the general ser-

## THE MINERAL OIL INDUSTRY

In the final weeks of the war, west German oil supply had become more and more curtailed until it finally dried up entirely. Production sank to its lowest level, and, in 1947, still did not exceed 576,000 tons. The war and its after-effects were also felt in refining activities, which came practically to a complete stop. No more than 310,000 tons of crude oil were refined in Western Germany during 1945. The distributing organization was also greatly affected and only functioned partially.

The economic rehabilitation of Western Germany was only possible with the assistance of the mineral oil industry. Immediately after hostilities had ended, efforts were therefore made to restore oil wells, refineries, and distribution facilities, with the result that by 1947 certain refineries were again in a position to undertake the refining of imported crude oils. By 1948 — the year of monetary reform and the starting point of Western Germany's economic recovery — refinery output had increased to about 800,000 tons, while native oil production reached 635,000 tons, to which may be added another 71,000 tons of benzol derivatives for the automobile industry.

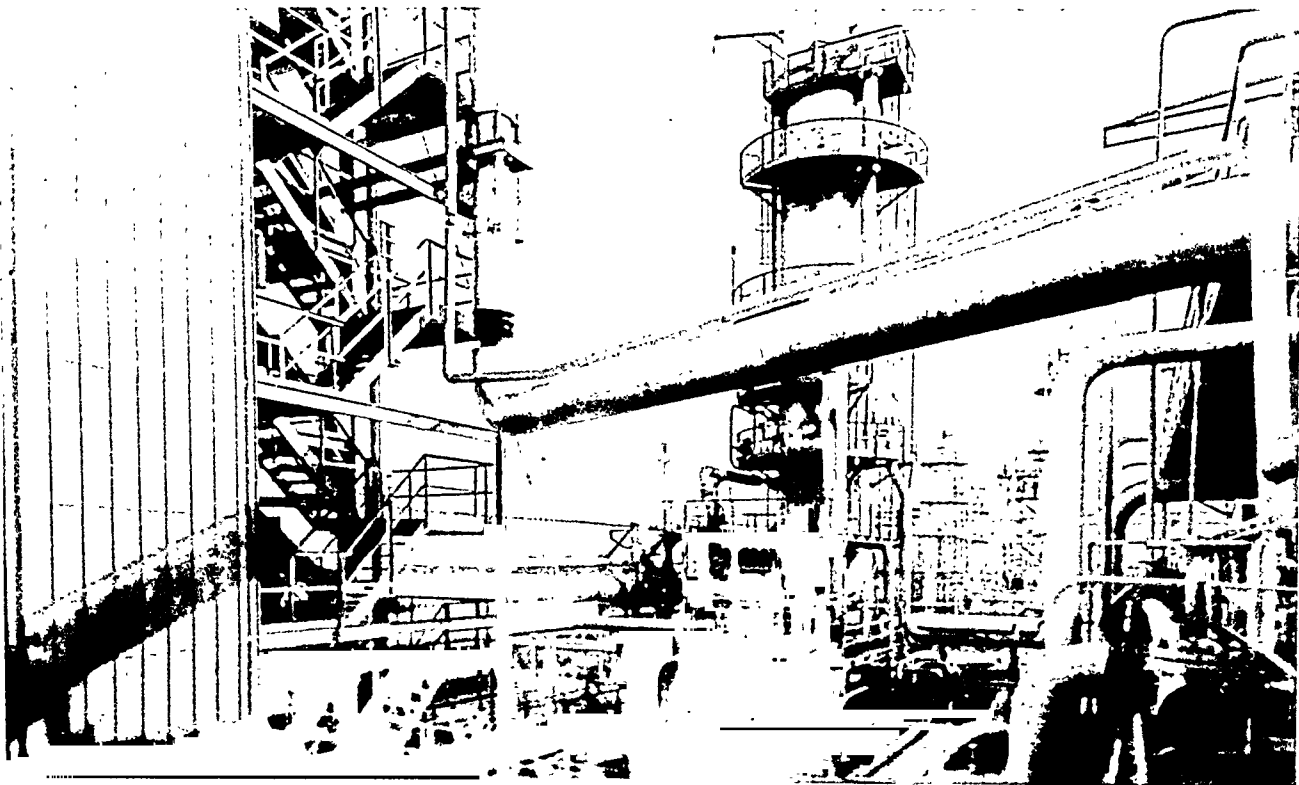
### *Tasks of the Mineral Oil Industry*

Since the monetary reform, the number of motor vehicles in the Federal Republic has increased threefold, reaching the figure of 1,692,000 in 1952,

excluding motorcycles. A corresponding increase took place in the consumption of mineral oil products which, from some 3 million tons in 1948, rose to 6 million tons by 1952: an increase of about 117 per cent. To satisfy this increased demand, a magnificent effort was required on the part of the west German mineral oil industry, for not only did war damage have to be made good, but difficulties of many kinds had to be faced. For instance, it was not feasible to resort to the simple method of importing the required quantity of refined oil, ready for immediate use, owing to the need for conserving foreign exchange. This need led to the adoption of three guiding principles of policy: 1. Increasing home production; 2. Refining imported crude oil rather than importing refined oils; 3. Transporting imported crude oil in German vessels.

Apart from this transfer to crude oil, other sources of supply had to be explored. During the nineteen-forties the former chief supplier, the USA, had changed from an oil-exporting to an oil-importing country, relinquishing the role of supplier of Western Europe.

It was fortunate that oil production in the Middle East had increased to such an extent that Western Europe, and with it Western Germany, was able to draw supplies from that source. However, as the Middle East countries only exported crude oil, it became necessary to undertake extensive building



*A portion of the cracking tower with polymerization installations at the Holstein mineral oil plant (Erdölwerke Holstein)*

brightest gems were her children [heaven save the mark !], and her greatest ambition to set an example of matronly virtue and feminine dignity to the ladies of her adopted country ! ”

We should absolutely blush for the writer of this paragraph, did we think that he really meant his panegyric to be taken literally. For the sake of common honesty, however, we will not suppose he so intended it ; he must be some severe critic who adopted this style as the keenest kind of wit, for

“ Praise undeserved is satire in disguise ! ”

The august remains of this royal lady were, on the 2d of December, deposited in the vault prepared for their reception, with all the parade usual on such expensive occasions. We will not detain our readers by describing the funeral pomp, though we cannot avoid noticing that the body was not opened, but immediately enclosed in prepared wrappers, and very speedily deposited in the first coffin, which was a leaden one. Indeed, her Majesty was not in a fit state to undergo the usual formalities of embalming, etc. Her body was literally a moving mass of corruption.

of new refineries or extensions of existing plants, in addition to the calls for repair of war damage.

### Crude Oil Production in Western Germany

Western Germany is one of the few west European countries able to derive an appreciable proportion of its mineral oil requirements from its own soil. During the war, in 1940, German extraction for the first time attained the figure of 1 million tons, but only by reckless exploitation of the available underground reserves. Production fell off in the following years because the opening up of new deposits had long been neglected, and also because supply difficulties in the immediate post-war years hampered the work of boring and extraction.

A faster and astonishingly large increase took place from 1948 onwards; already in 1950 extraction exceeded the million-ton mark, in 1952, the two-million mark, and in 1956 it is expected to reach 3 millions. The reason for this rapid increase of recent years is the discovery and opening up of new deposits, as well as a rise in productivity in the older fields. The main deposits are (1) in the Emsland fields, the output of which rose from 168,000 tons in 1948 to about 757,500 tons in 1952 and is expected to reach 1 million tons by 1955; and (2) in Hanover, where output after 1954, when it may just reach 1 million tons, is expected to contract.

WEST GERMAN OIL PRODUCTION  
(in 1,000 tons)

	1938	1945	1951	1952	1954
<b>North of the Elbe</b>	93	125	119	133	235
<b>Between Elbe and Weser</b>	448	386	625	815	897
<b>Between Weser and Ems</b>	—	2	14	43	150
<b>West of the Ems</b>	—	31	603	758	881
<b>Upper Rhine valley</b>	11	4	6	6	5
<b>New fields</b>	—	—	—	—	250
<b>Totals</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>1367</b>	<b>1755</b>	<b>2418</b>

The number of borings increased in the three years from 1949 to 1952 by 817, and in 1952 reached the unprecedented figure of 2,552. At the same time, the average daily output per boring was raised from 1.3 tons to 2.1 tons.

On the territory of Hamburg, in the Wattenmeer, in the East Holstein coastal belt, and in the Upper Rhine district, new fields are being or are about to be tapped. Great hopes for the future are based upon the discovery, near the Alpine foothills, of oil deposits similar to those which have long been worked in the Zistersdorf area of Austria.

The intensity of this prospecting and boring activity is clearly revealed by the development of deep-shaft boring which increased from about 530,000 feet sunk in 1948 to nearly 1,530,000 in 1952.

The discovery of fresh oil deposits would certainly not have sufficed, had not an extensive and systematic planning program and adequate preparation ensured the development of oil production. This includes comprehensive scientific research, exploration of soil strata, trial borings, and improvement in boring methods. This was made possible by close consultation with US firms and the introduction of modern American boring equipment. Remarkable success has attended these efforts. Whereas the known reserves in Western Germany totaled 10.3 million tons in 1949, they had attained nearly 35 million tons in 1952. To this may still be added probable reserves of some 16 million tons, so that it may be said that Western Germany today disposes of more than 51 million tons of oil reserves. But these are spread over numerous small desposits, some of them at considerable depths. The result is that German oil production costs relatively more than in the large overseas deposits.

Notwithstanding the rapid increase in west German oil production, it still only covers between 25% to 30% of German requirements, owing to the equally rapid increase in consumption. The balance has to be imported from overseas.

### Crude Oil Imports into Western Germany

As already mentioned, Germany had to switch from import of refined petroleum products to that of crude oil. This tendency was already apparent before the war, but the results were not convincing. Refined products still accounted for two-thirds of the imports. After the war, the proportion was reduced to 55% in 1949 and 29% in 1952. The projected ratio for 1954 stands at 9% — an astonishing effort on the part of the German industry. This improvement is equalled by the rate of reconstruction of the tanker fleet made necessary by the foreign exchange position. Germany owned 37 tankers of 330,000 tons deadweight before the war. That fleet had been almost completely lost by the end of hostilities. The relaxation of Allied controls on shipbuilding in 1950 and their removal in 1951

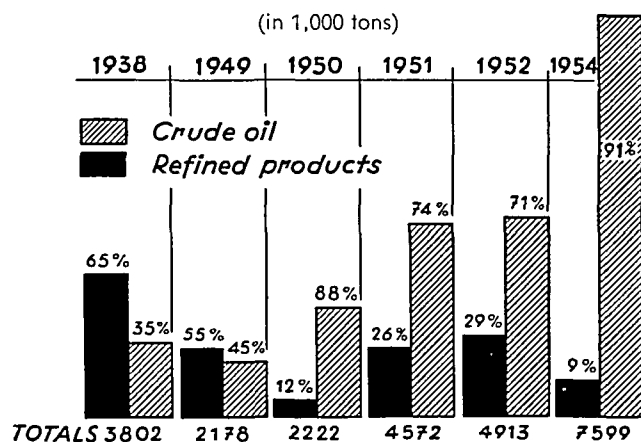


and unaccountably sent abroad, notwithstanding his being next in succession. His Royal Highness's marriage with a descendant of the Stuarts, though strictly legal, was never acknowledged by Queen Charlotte, and his only child, soon after its birth, was thrown upon the compassionate attention of strangers. As there is something so horrible relative to the death of this amiable duke and duchess, and something so heartless and cruel in the treatment to which their only son has been subjected, we are induced, for the sake of truth and justice, to lay a brief statement of the matter before our readers.

Historians have either been treacherous or ignorant of the circumstances connected with the case of this Duke of York, who was the second son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and next brother of George the Third. Most writers have represented "that he died in consequence of a malignant fever," as we have before mentioned; but one historian ventured to assert that "Edward, Duke of York, was assassinated in September, 1767, near Monaco, in Italy." This statement we are sorry to say, is but too true, which caused the book containing it to be bought up at an immense expense. The unhappy widow of his Royal Highness was then far advanced in pregnancy, and, very shortly after this melancholy and (to her) irreparable loss, she came over to England, and took up her residence at Haverford West, in

## WEST GERMAN MINERAL OIL IMPORTS

(in 1,000 tons)



marked the beginning of the revival in German tanker transport. At the end of 1952, the Federal Republic already possessed a tanker fleet of 200,000 tons deadweight. To cope with import requirements, however, a fleet of more than 550,000 tons deadweight is required, and prospects are that by 1955 a total of about 370,000 tons deadweight will be available. The saving in foreign exchange can be put at 25 to 30 million dollars per annum, according to the state of the freight market. Together with the saving due to home refining — which will amount to about 85 million dollars by 1955 — there will then be a total saving of foreign exchange through home refining and use of a German tanker fleet of up to 115 million dollars annually.

### Imports of Crude Oil

(in 1,000 tons)

	1938	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Via Elbe Ports	1,180	515	1,475	1,900	2,090	3,510
Via Weser Ports	82	125	265	475	435	640
Via Rotterdam	64	230	405	1,020	920	1,878

### Extension of Refining Facilities

West Germany's oil requirements can now be largely covered by the production of her refineries, using home-produced and imported crude oil. It is planned to resolve the serious supply difficulties of the gasoline and Diesel oil markets by the erection of cracking plants capable of dealing with some 3.4 million tons by 1954/55. With a view to economy in materials, capital, and time, these cracking plants are to be attached to existing refineries. This explains the existence or projected creation (in addition to the long-established plants of the BP-Benzin- und Petroleum-GmbH., Hamburg, and the Deurag-Nerag, Misburg) of new cracking plants at the Ebano-Raffinerie AG., Hamburg, the Raffinerie der Deutschen Vacuum AG., Oslebshausen, the Deutsche Erdöl AG., Heide, the Union Rheinische Braunkohlen Kraftstoff AG., Wesseling, the Gelsenberg Benzin AG., Gelsenkirchen, the Ruhröl und Ruhrbau, Muelheim, the Ruhr-Chemie,

Oberhausen, the Scholven Chemie AG., Gelsenkirchen, and at the Gewerkschaft Erdöl-Raffinerie Emsland, Lingen.

In addition, the German refineries are to improve the quality of their output and increase the number of their products by modernizing or extending their plants.

In 1949 the efforts of west German refineries for reconstruction and expansion were linked with the large refinery program of OEEC, covering other west European expansion plans as well. The aim of that program is to raise west European refining capacity from the pre-war figure of 12 million tons to 106 million tons by the end of 1954, so as to keep in step with the increase in consumption.

Of course, this plan, designed to economize dollars in the provision of supplies for Europe, will call for the investment of enormous sums. Of the total of 1 billion dollars, about 190 million is to be devoted to Western Germany.

*West German Proportion of Refining Capacity compared with Total Capacity of OEEC Zone in 1952 and according to Plan for 1954, as at December 31 of the respective years*

(1,000 tons)

	1952		
	OEEC	Western Germany	%
Topping Capacity	82,000	8,135	10
Re-forming Capacity	7,400	365	5
Thermo-cracking Capacity	4,000	860	22
Catalytic-cracking Capacity	6,500	300	4.6
Lubricating Oil Processing	1,800	490	27
Hydrogenation Capacity	—	950	—

Plan for 1954

	OEEC	Western Germany	%
Topping Capacity	106,000	11,230	11
Re-forming Capacity	9,700	1,125	11.5
Thermo-cracking Capacity	3,800	1,150	30
Catalytic-cracking Capacity	14,800	2,600	17.5
Lubricating Oil Processing	2,700	580	20
Hydrogenation Capacity	—	1,180	—

Whereas the majority of large refineries in the other west European countries have been or are being erected with an annual capacity of 2 to 3 million tons, the west German crude oil refining plants have an average productive capacity of between 200,000 and 800,000 tons. This is explained partly by lack of capital, which caused the new plants to be attached to existing works, and partly by the dispersal of the various German oil fields which allows only restricted output.

In addition, it became possible after the end of dismantling, to adapt the former hydrogenation works (with a production of about 3.5 million tons per annum in 1944) to the refining of crude oil.

little fellow, do, you be a good boy, and you shall never want friends. Good-bye, good-bye; the deer will soon be out." His Majesty then rode back to his attendants. Whenever George the Third passed through Eton it was his invariable practice either to speak to or inquire after this youth, in whose welfare he ever appeared deeply interested. From Eton he was removed to college; and after this period vexations of an unpleasant nature were experienced by this orphan: his income was too limited, and unkindness and illiberality were too frequently his portion; even during severe indisposition he was permitted to languish without being supplied with sufficient means to procure the needful restoratives. His life now became little else than one continued scene of unhappiness; his associates at the university were well acquainted with these facts, and appeared deeply interested in his welfare, regretting that the mind and talent of such an amiable and promising youth should be enervated by the severity or inattention of his connections. But as he had been severely rebuked for making a complaint and offering a remonstrance, he resolved to suffer in "silent sorrow," much to the injury of his mental enjoyments. During a vacation and previous to his removal from college a dispute arose amongst the members of his reputed father's family upon the subject of religion. The debate at length assumed a formidable appearance, and bigotry plainly supplied the

lift between July 1948 and the autumn of 1949. The performance of the Esso aviation fuel department was especially noteworthy; in that period it handled more than 76 million gallons of aviation fuel, representing more than 9,000 refuelling operations per month. This was in addition to the supply of aviation fuel and lubricants to the US Air Force in Germany by the same company. The expansion of large-scale bunkering also made rapid progress in the years between 1948 and 1952.

Efficient bunkering stations for fuel oil and gas oil have been established in all west German harbors and along the Kiel Canal by the firms — also subsidiaries of the foreign oil companies — with interests in this sphere. Spacious storage facilities are available and smooth regular delivery is ensured by the use of refuelling lighters. The consumption of fuel oil rose from 97,000 tons in 1948 to 609,000 tons in 1952; that of gas oil, during the same period, from 3,000 to 267,000 tons.

## THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

The notions "chemical industry" and "Germany" are so closely linked that it is really impossible to imagine one without the other, and yet it seemed to many people, in 1948 and 1949, that the German chemical industry would never recover its former importance. Soon, however, its turnover passed the 10 billion DM level, and its exports were running at over 2 billion DM per annum. The share of chemical products in total German exports is 12.5%; the German proportion of world trade in chemical products is 10%, as against 30% in former times.

By the turn of the 20th century and during the years before the first World War, the German chemical industry had reached the front rank. A little before 1900 the production of chemical goods of the German Reich was valued at 1 billion Marks, i. e., almost a third of world production, which amounted to 3.5 billion Marks. In the last years before 1914, Germany was the principal world exporter of chemical products and accounted for nearly 30% of all exports in this category.

### *A Glance at the Period between the two World Wars*

The 1914/18 war grievously disrupted this progress. The provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, with the confiscation of patents and trademarks, and the most-favored-nation policy, which was followed for many years to the disadvantage of Germany, hit the chemical industry, with its world-wide ramifications, particularly hard. Nevertheless, the industry succeeded, by dynamic development based on intense research, in winning back the lost ground. The great feats of the German chemical industry between the two wars, such as the mastering of synthetic and hydrogenation processes for the manufacture of fuels and lubricants, the high-pressure synthesis for nitrogen and methanol, synthetic rubber, and work in the field of synthetic materials, were all milestones on the road of technical progress for the entire world.

In the domain of economic policy, also, the chemical industry recognized the signs of the times. Economic co-operation within Germany and in the wider fields of international chemistry was the order of the day. The setbacks caused by the world depression at the beginning of the thirties naturally

did not leave the chemical branch unscathed, but the industry nevertheless preserved its structural efficiency. Opinions may differ about its development during the time of the Third Reich, but in a totalitarian state economic considerations are obliged to take second place to other principles. The tasks which were laid upon the chemical industry during those years were tremendous. That they were mastered proves the great strength of the industry; and the outstanding achievements during this period in many fields of research, development and production cannot be denied.

### *The Fall into the Abyss*

Then came the collapse of 1945; it was a precipitous fall. Its results have been described by the Chairman of the Chemical Industries' Association, W. A. Menne, in the Jubilee Number of the "Zeitschrift für die Chemiewirtschaft" (Journal of the Chemical Economy), published in October 1952 under the title "Deutschlands Chemische Industrie", in the following words: "A great part of what had not been reduced to dust and ashes during the last phases of the war fell victim to dismantling. In two waves the German chemical industry lost installations of the utmost value. From the scientific point of view, it was put under political supervision and deprived of all patents, processes, and trademark rights. Technical data and research findings had to be revealed without exception to the foreign control commission. On the moral plane, the attempt was made at the Nuremberg "publicity trials" to defame the industry in the eyes of the world in the persons of its leading businessmen. In the economic sphere, the division of Germany into four zones caused production gaps and raw materials bottlenecks the effects of which have still not been overcome. Plants in Central Germany and Upper Silesia were lost, and thus the integrated economy of the industry was largely ruined."

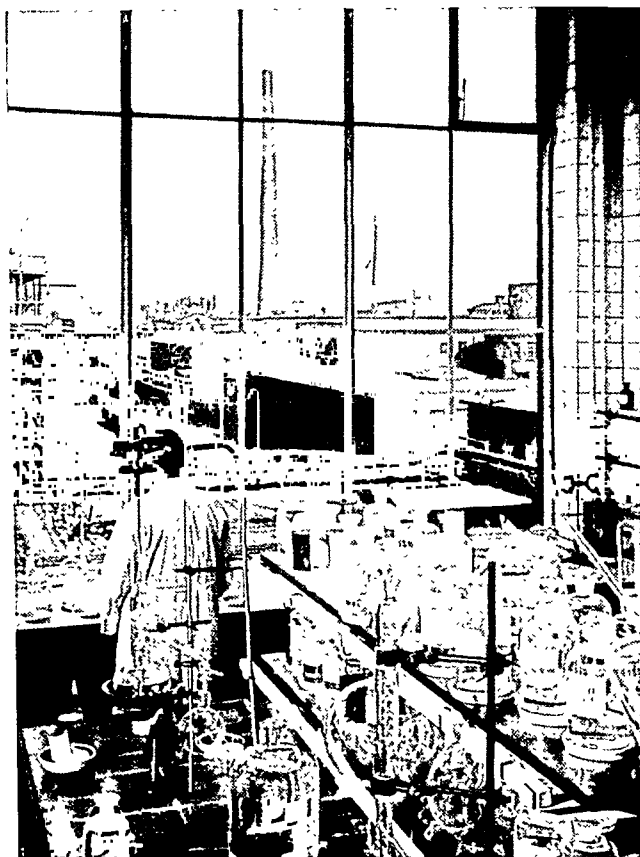
The Allied policy of manufacturing prohibitions, which, even after the ratification of the Bonn Convention and the EDCTreaty, will leave certain questions open, destroyed the lead which the German chemical industry had won in those fields in which it had done pioneer work up to the end of the second World War. The result is that the industry

treated with the greatest unkindness and personal indignity by almost every member of his reputed father's family. Indeed, the imperious behaviour of the elder branches was such as could not be passed over in silence ; in consequence of which the high-spirited and noble victim was sent back to college for the remainder of the vacation, with little more in his purse than would defray the expenses of the journey ; but the command was peremptory. After remaining some time in utter destitution, the royal protégé wrote to request an early supply of cash, naming for what purposes. This appeal was considered as the effect of extravagance and profligacy, and, instead of being properly complied with, was answered with acrimony, everything the reverse of parental feeling. Under these heartrending circumstances did this ill-fated son of Prince Edward labour for nearly four years at the university, not daring to make any further appeals to the austere, impatient, and arbitrary person to whose care the king had so fully though secretly entrusted him. At length, however, a severe illness was the consequence ; and censure, in no very measured terms, was heaped upon the unfeeling character who had so cruelly immolated a promising and worthy young gentleman, and who, he well knew, was of the most illustrious descent. Those who were acquainted with the particulars of the case were most incensed against such heartless conduct.

will still have to wait before it can regain a leading position on world markets, such as it previously held. Nobody will dispute the fact that the scientific and technical progress achieved in foreign countries — USA, Great Britain and others — is particularly the result of comprehensive research by gigantic chemical companies. The necessary financial means both for these extremely expensive scientific projects and for the translation of the findings of research into industrial practice can be found only by big undertakings with great capital resources. They alone are in a position to bear the heavy financial risk which the carrying out of fundamental research and development projects usually implies.

#### *A new Will to Live*

But all the above measures did not stifle the will to live in the German chemical industry. When people speak of the "German economic miracle", meaning the industriousness of Germany's workers, the capability of her engineers and chemists, and the creative resource of her scientists, the chemical industry, in particular, can point to special achievements. If it was at first necessary to rebuild the installations destroyed by war, it soon became apparent that the plants lost to the integrated chemical industry, through the division of the country into zones, would have to be made good by new



*Laboratory for the examination of fine chemical products in a pharmaceuticals plant in the Rhineland*

building. A peculiarity of the industry is that it not only produces purely consumer goods, but also raw materials, semi-manufactured articles, intermediate products and final products. It does not sell only to its own branch of industry but is a supplier for almost every sector of the national economy. Anyone who goes about the world with his eyes open can see that it concerns practically every phase of the life of contemporary man. The last Synthetic Materials Exhibition in Duesseldorf, in October 1952, brought this fact out in a striking manner by means of a special series of exhibits under the title, "Chemistry as the Companion of Man from Morning until Midnight".

Along with the efforts to prevent senseless dismantling and relax manufacturing prohibitions and limits on production, the question of what developments had taken place in world chemicals during the years when the German industry was cut off from its international connections assumed great importance. Had not research and technics made progress in the other leading chemicals-producing countries which would have to be overtaken as rapidly as possible if Germany were not to be evicted from world markets without hope of recovery?

In no other field is the speed of progress so rapid as in chemical technics, where the maintenance of the competitiveness of the individual enterprise requires constant development of new products and processes.

The common efforts of all concerned have meanwhile succeeded in abolishing a considerable part of the limitations imposed on the German chemical industry. The decisions of the Allied High Commission in the spring of 1951 which permitted unlimited production of ammonia, chlorine and styrol were a milestone in this respect. It is to be hoped that, in the course of further political developments — above all when the Bonn Convention and the EDC Treaty come into force — the last remaining restrictions on production, and, particularly, the limitations at present imposed on research, will be abolished.

At the official ceremony for the 75th jubilee of the Chemical Industries Association in the Paul's Cathedral in Frankfurt on the Main, in October 1952, in the presence of the Federal Chancellor, the President, W.A. Menne, had already drawn public attention to the fact that, without active German participation in atomic research for peaceful purposes, the technical advances made by the leading chemicals nations could not be overtaken. On the 26th of April 1953, at a reception to the press on the occasion of the Hanover Technical Fair, he again addressed himself to the public and stated that the chemical industry would take the initiative to expedite the industrial exploitation of the results of atomic research. Among other remarks, he stated as follows: "The further development of modern chemistry requires the use of radio-active isotopes.



Germany must fear that in a few years she will have sunk back behind the smallest chemicals-producing country if this field of research remains closed to her."

#### *What has been achieved*

A comparison of the business figures of the chemical industry with those of other industrial branches in the Federal Republic shows that, with an 11 billion DM annual turnover, chemicals are among the most important industries in Western Germany. There is indeed no exposition at which the industry does not show the products of its traditional efficiency in some specially striking manner. In foreign markets too, it has been able to regain a footing, and, despite the loss of patents and trademarks, foreign branches and representatives, exports reached a figure of 2.1 billion DM in 1951 (inclusive of synthetic fibers). By reason of the general drop in prices and heightened international competition, exports fell in 1952 to about 1.8 billion DM, but in 1953 they again rose to 2.3 billion. More than 20% of production is exported, and chemical products make up about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of Germany's total exports. The importance of the industry in German national economy may also be seen in its fuel and electricity consumption. More than 10% of the fuel used in German industry, reckoned in hard coal units, is consumed by chemicals enterprises. In the case of electricity, the proportion is more than 25%.

#### *Advantages and Disadvantages of the Fall in Prices*

The chemical industry as a supplier of raw materials is more and more becoming a competitor of natural raw materials. According to the law of mass production, the industry should be in a position to reduce production costs, whereas natural raw materials on the whole show a rising price graph on international markets. The fall in prices is, however, extremely disquieting for a whole series of branches of the industry, such as mineral dyestuffs, varnish, paint, soap and detergents. In these branches it has reached such considerable proportions that the industries can no longer compensate for it by increased sales.

The advantages of falling prices are above all for the consumers, by which is meant, in this case, practically every branch of industry. The chemical industry would like to see prices becoming steady and for this reason found a source of satisfaction in the tendency towards stabilization which characterized the year 1953, when turnover increased by 11% and volume of production by 17% in comparison with 1952. But competition will, of course, force a further lowering of costs and prices. The chemical industry would seem to be the pathmaker of a buyer's market.

#### *Development of highly-specialized Products*

The pharmaceutical industry has had to make particular efforts in recent years because, on the one hand, its price level is below the index figure for

consumer goods and, on the other, conditions of export have changed considerably. Overseas countries which, before the war, were traditional importers of German medicaments have now built up their own pharmaceutical industries, which they protect by tariff barriers. As a result, proprietary medicines can only be exported with difficulty, and export is concentrated on half-finished products and chemical raw materials. The German medicines industry has made important progress in this respect.

Coal tar dyestuffs, being initial products for the textile industry, are naturally dependent on the state of the markets in that branch. In addition, stronger competition is being met with on international markets and is aggravated in some cases by local administrative measures. Finally, it should not be forgotten in this connection that the traditional markets of the German coal tar dyestuffs industry in the countries behind the Iron Curtain as far as eastern Asia can no longer be reached. If, as a result of the interruption of German supplies, these countries also develop local production, this will further accelerate a development which Marshall Plan credits initiated in the countries of Western Europe. Such a development would create grave problems for the German coal tar dyestuffs industry.

#### *Synthetic Materials*

The development of the synthetic materials industry is worthy of special attention. This is a branch in which research and technical progress are questions of life and death. The synthetic materials industry is so multiform from the points of view of raw materials, processing methods, and number of different products that statistics can only furnish a breakdown into large groups. The unfavorable connotation of the word "Ersatz" 35 years ago, in connection with products which were used to replace consumer goods for which the natural raw materials could not be obtained, is difficult to imagine today. Goods made with synthetic materials are nowadays not only equal to those made from the traditional materials, such as metal and wood, but are often preferred because of their special qualities. Developments in the USA illustrate this point particularly well. In no country has the production of artificial materials been so widely developed as in that land which is the richest in the world in natural raw materials. Along with synthetic fibers, which, when all is said and done, are also artificial materials, the USA has developed the production of plastic materials on the largest scale. Output has trebled since 1946, and it seems as if this development is likely to continue.

It is naturally impossible for the German chemical industry even to approach the volume of production of synthetic materials already attained by America. But the industry must catch up with American manufacturers in the matter of quality and price. And this brings us to the critical point in the German



from comparative nothingness, this man was raised to affluence, and was then living in much style, keeping his carriage and horses, inhabiting a mansion of very superior description, and the whole of his family enjoying every superfluity of life. He, however, on whose sole account this sumptuous appearance was bestowed, was "eating the bread of carefulness, and reposing upon the couch of sorrow." We need not enter more fully into the case of this unfortunate, but worthy, descendant of Prince Edward, than say that, from the commencement of his studies to a very recent period, he has been the victim of power. His sufferings and his sorrows have been too great for language to describe; and, but for the blessings of a fine constitution, he must have fallen under them. But, if he be called upon in a suitable manner, we doubt not that he has yet preserved to him sufficient of his natural courage, though in his sixty-fifth year, to make "false accusation blush, and tyranny tremble at patience!"

We claim the attention of our readers while we offer proof that our assertions are founded upon the glorious principle of truth. We have ourselves, to elucidate this matter, examined all the registers of the various parishes in Carnarvonshire and Carmarthenshire, and found every register complete from 1760, until we came to that of St. Thomas, Haverford West, at which place we

chemical industry today — the provision of the necessary financial means for research. The principle that yesterday's research is today's production, and today's research tomorrow's production is specially true in the chemical industry. Intensive research continually develops new products, widens the field of application of older ones and leads to a cheapening of production processes. We hear that the American chemical industry spent more than 300 million dollars on research in 1952 and employs about 20,000 chemists and engineers for this purpose (without counting personnel engaged on atomic research). The financial support provided for German chemical research is on a much more modest scale.

A decisive role in the extraordinary development of synthetic materials has been played by raw materials with a mineral oil basis. We even hear of a new branch of industry which is now springing up: "petrochemistry". The German chemical industry now has the task of setting up the large-scale technical installations necessary to enable it to catch up with its international competitors in a field in which it pioneered fundamental research a decade and a half ago.

### *The Leading Firms*

Among the enterprises of the German chemical industry, the I. G. Farbenindustrie was formerly of international renown. Now that the concern has been dissolved, three large successor companies stand out among the more than 3,000 chemical enterprises in the Federal Republic. Each of these three has a turnover of about 1 billion DM annually. They are:

- Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik AG.,  
Ludwigshafen, with plants at Ludwigshafen and Oppau,
- Farbenfabriken Bayer AG., Leverkusen,  
with plants at Leverkusen, Elberfeld, Uerdingen and Dormagen,
- Farbwerke Hoechst AG., Hoechst on the Main,  
with a plant at Hoechst, and the following subsidiaries:  
Chemische Fabrik Griesheim, Frankfurt-Griesheim,  
Lech-Chemie, Gersthofen,  
Naphtholchemie, Offenbach,  
Knapsack-Griesheim AG., Knapsack,  
Beringwerke, Marburg/Lahn, and  
Bobingen AG. für Chemiefaser, Bobingen near Augsburg.

The production programs of these plants extend from inorganic heavy products, such as sulphur, ammonia, carbide, soda lye and chlorine via organic intermediate products for coal tar dyes, textile, leather, and rubber auxiliary products, pharmaceuticals and artificial materials, to the most highly-finished final products of practically every branch of the chemical industry. The same is true of the I. G. Farben successor plants:

- Chemische Werke Huls AG., at Marl near Recklinghausen, and
- Cassella Farbwerke Mainkur at Frankfurt on the Main,

the programs of which are, however, more specialized.

Alongside these plants are other big chemical firms, some of which have similar extensive programs, while others are of a more specialized character. It is very difficult to draw the line here, the more so as some firms which, strictly speaking, belong to other branches of industry must be mentioned because of their close connection with the chemical industry. Such are:

- Gelsenberg Benzin AG., Gelsenkirchen,
- Gewerkschaft Rheinpreussen, Homberg,
- Vereinigte Glanzstoff-Fabriken AG., Wuppertal,
- Union Rheinische Braunkohlen AG., Wesseling.

Far beyond the borders of Germany, all the "Big Firms" again enjoy their traditional reputation. Among the best known are:

- Anorgana, Gendorf, Upper Bavaria,
- Bergwerksgesellschaft Hibernia AG., Herne,
- Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt (DEGUSSA), Frankfurt on the Main,
- Deutsche Solvay-Werke GmbH., Solingen-Ohligs,
- Duisburger Kupferhütte GmbH., Duisburg,
- Dynamit AG. vorm. Alfred Nobel & Co., Troisdorf,
- Kalichemie AG., Hanover,
- Ruhrchemie AG., Oberhausen-Holtten,
- Ruhrstickstoff AG., Bochum,
- Rütgerswerke AG., Frankfurt on the Main,
- Dr. Alexander Wacker GmbH., Munich.

In addition to these firms there are a whole series of big chemicals factories where the family name has become a symbol for efficiency and quality. Among these we could mention:

- Th. Goldschmidt AG., Essen,
- Henkel & Cie. GmbH., Duesseldorf,
- Imhausenwerke, Witten/Ruhr,
- E. Merk, Chem. Fabrik, Darmstadt,
- Knoll AG., Chem. Fabrik, Ludwigshafen,
- Schering AG., Berlin,
- G. Siegel & Co., Stuttgart.

Other firms have made a special name for themselves by their branded products. Here we must mention once again in the first rank the firm Henkel & Cie. GmbH., Duesseldorf, and also:

- Ferd. Mühlens "4711", Cologne-Ehrenfeld,
- Georg Dralle, Hamburg-Altona,
- J. G. Mouson & Co., Frankfurt on the Main,
- P. Beiersdorf & Co., Hamburg,
- Wolff & Sohn, Karlsruhe

which have greatly contributed to the reputation of the German chemical industry throughout the world by their branded products.

There are necessarily many lacunae in this list. It is impossible to mention all the numerous firms which are perhaps modest in size but outstanding in the quality of their products. A comprehensive survey of German chemical firms in the form of monographs under the heading "Tradition and Efficiency" may be found in the Jubilee Number of the Zeitschrift für die Chemiewirtschaft, published in October 1952.

Every individual ought to feel interested in the full and fair explanation of this chicanery ; for if such misdeeds are suffered to remain unpunished, a safeguard is offered to future tyrants. Startling facts like these speak volumes, and any honest and upright member of the community will not need more than their simple avowal to rouse his indignation. Such encroachments on the rights of individuals call aloud for retributive justice, and we trust the call will not long be made in vain. Surely there is yet sufficient virtue left amongst us to prevent this once great nation from being sacrificed to the fluctuating interests or wayward prejudices of ministers, or even of a monarch. It is high time to shake off all lethargy. This, as well as many other subjects, which we have exposed, deserve — nay, demand — Parliamentary investigation. Hitherto, some dreadful infatuation seems to have presided over the councils of this country. Insatiable ambition has caused all the horrors imposed upon the United Kingdoms, and has plunged a professedly free and great people into debt and disgrace. Indolence now, therefore, is only comparable with the conduct of a prodigal who has wasted his estate without reflection, and then has not the courage to examine his accounts ; far be this from Britons !

From this digression, we return to the consideration of Queen Charlotte's character. The open and virtuous conduct of the Earl of Chat-

During the years immediately after the war, Germany, in spite of having been one of the world's largest exporters, was virtually excluded from the international iron market. Only since 1950 has there been any export of iron and steel worth mentioning. In the summer of 1953, the export of steel works and steel tubing works, as well as of presses and hammer mills, in terms of raw steel tonnage, reached about 15% of total production. As has already been mentioned, the export of the capital goods industries, which are among the large users of steel and very export-minded, is of particular importance. Almost all European and overseas markets are covered by these direct and indirect iron and steel exports. Only Eastern Europe, once one of the main customers of the German iron and steel industry, plays a much smaller part as consumer where, indeed, it is not altogether closed to imports. In the same way, German territories under Soviet rule have become minor customers of the west German industry compared with former days. The quantities taken annually by these territories are at present below the supplies formerly sent there monthly by the west German iron and steel industry. Although iron and steel production in these areas has in the meantime been considerably expanded, a great demand may be anticipated from East and Central Germany once the political situation has changed, owing to the extraordinary shortage of materials and the accumulated requirements for reconstruction.

#### Deconcentration

The German iron and steel industry, including foundries and works dealing with the primary stages of manufacture, is constituted as follows:

	Number of Works	Number of Employees
	End of 1952	
Blast Furnaces, Steel and Rolling Mills	86	184,700
Forges, Presses, and Hammer Mills •	35	17,200
Iron, Steel, and Malleable Iron Foundries	539	143,600
Drawing and Cold Rolling Mills	397	54,800
Totals	1,057	400,300

• excl. Drop Forges

In the field of the iron and steel industry proper, i.e., blast-furnaces, steel works, and rolling mills, there have been great organizational changes since the war. The place of the mighty combines has been taken by a large number of individual firms only a few of which still trade under the old names. The change concerns, in the first place, the giant combine of the former German iron and steel industry, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, which alone had an annual raw steel output of 7 to 8 million tons. This giant has been split into a number of separate works or groups of works, some of which continue to trade under the names by which they were once internationally known. Even those firms which have not

undergone a radical change in the field of iron and steel production, for instance, the Mannesmann-Werke, the Hoesch-Werke, and the Klöckner-Werke, have had to relinquish a large part of their manufacturing activities to firms which in turn have become independent.

The final organization of the German coal and steel industries is not yet complete, for it remains to be seen whether some of the subdivisions are of a permanent nature.

The former concerns of the iron and steel industry were broken up to form new "unit companies" varying greatly in size. The list on pages 195 and 196 shows the status at the end of 1953 and includes only the leading groups of enterprises and unit companies whose role in steel production is essential. But in addition to these unit companies there are other enterprises with famous names which were either completely unaffected by the reorganization, or were only affected in their internal organizational structure, and which are still active in iron and steel production or processing. Such are:

Ilseder Hütte, Peine; Stahl- und Rohrenwerk Reisholz GmbH, Duesseldorf; Stahlwerke Röchling Buderus A.G., Wetzlar on the Lahn,

The Reichswerke A.G., which operates ore mines and iron works in Salzgitter-Drüette, and which was particularly hard hit by dismantling, is in the process of reconstruction.

As already mentioned, there are, apart from the larged mixed steel works, many independent rolling mills, most of them firms of medium or small size with highly specialized production programs.

#### Present Position and Future Prospects

The center of the German metallurgical industry is in the Ruhr. It is thus based on coal. The connection with coal and the consequent integration into a large economic network in the Ruhr with abundant energy at its disposal have been important factors in the profitability of the industry. The reconstruction of destroyed plant and large-scale investment and modernization will enable this industry once more to hold its own in world markets.

*The fact that up to 1950 the German steel industry had practically no funds for investment has greatly hampered the rebuilding and modernization of plants.*

Whereas between 1947 and 1952 the French iron and steel industry, for example, was able to invest the equivalent of 3 to 4 billion DM, the German industry could invest only one billion DM, in spite of the great extent of the damage to be made good. Much has been accomplished with this limited sum, but much remains to be done in order to become internationally competitive.

In this connection, the efforts to increase the proportion of flat-bar steel produced by the rolling mills are of the greatest importance. It is well known that flat steel production amounts to about 60% of the

We need not proceed further with her Majesty's character ; this, this unnatural act is enough to chill the blood 'in the veins of every human being.

At this time, very little was said of the afflicted king ; indeed, the bulletins assumed such a sameness of expression, that the country thought there was not satisfactory evidence to prove the sovereign was really alive. His Majesty's disorder did not require that close and solitary confinement so arbitrarily imposed upon him. If he had been a private gentleman, associated with an affectionate wife and dutiful children, would he not have frequently been persuaded to take an airing in an open carriage ? But how infinitely superior were the facilities attendant upon the situation of the king than could possibly be possessed by any private gentleman ! His Majesty had long been languishing, and was, at the commencement of 1819, insensible to all around him. Death was evidently making rapid strides, and yet the bulletins continued of the same general expression.

At this time, we had the honour of being personally acquainted with one of the king's sons, whose integrity has ever been considered unimpeachable, both in his public and private character. The information we received relative to the king's death came directly from his Royal Highness.

It will be remembered that much doubt prevailed upon the reality of the king's existence, and

*List of the most important Firms in the Iron and Steel Industry after Deconcentration*

New designation of the company, details of associated works and subsidiaries	Employees (Round figures)	Capital (in million DM)	Concern to which the enterprise formerly belonged	New designation of the company, details of associated works and subsidiaries	Employees (Round figures)	Capital (in million DM)	Concern to which the enterprise formerly belonged
Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG., Krefeld <i>works at</i> Krefeld, Remscheid, Werdohl, Dortmund, Bochum, Willich, Hanover	8,000	41.4	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.	Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenverein AG., Dortmund <i>with plants at</i> Dortmund and Hoerde <i>and subsidiaries</i> a) Kettenwerke Schlieper GmbH., Gruene (Westphalia) b) Schwerter Profileisenwerk AG., Schwerte c) Eisenwerk Rothe Erde GmbH., Dortmund d) Hansa-Bergbau AG., Dortmund (50%)	20,000	184.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.
Rheinisch-Westfälische Eisen- und Stahlwerke AG., Muelheim-Ruhr <i>with its subsidiaries</i> a) Eisenwerke Mülheim-Meiderich AG., Muelheim-Ruhr b) Eisenwerke Gelsenkirchen AG., Gelsenkirchen c) Gusstahlwerk Gelsenkirchen AG., Gelsenkirchen d) Eisenwerk Hilden AG., Hilden e) Vereinigte Economiser Werke GmbH., Hilden	6,800	26.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.	Gusstahlwerk Bochumer Verein AG., Bochum <i>with plants at</i> Bochum, Hoentrop, Weitmar and Langendreer <i>and subsidiaries</i> a) "WURAG" Eisen- und Stahlwerke AG., Hohenlimburg b) Gewerkschaft Christine, Essen-Kupferdreh c) Carolinenglück Bergbau AG., Bochum (50%) d) Graf Moltke Bergbau AG., Bochum (50%)	14,300	69.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.
Hüttenwerke Phoenix AG., Duisburg <i>with subsidiary</i> Friedrich Thyssen Bergbau AG. Duisburg-Hamborn (50%)	10,000	115.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.	Ruhrstahl AG., Hattingen <i>Works at</i> Henrichshütte Hattingen, Brackwede and Annen <i>and subsidiary</i> Gusstahlwerk Oberkassel AG., vormals Stahlwerk Krieger, Duesseldorf	8,800	34.5	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.
Niederrheinische Hütte AG., Duisburg <i>with its subsidiaries</i> a) Westfälische Union AG. für Eisen- und Drahtindustrie, Hamm b) Lennewerk Altena GmbH., Altena c) Eisenwerk Steele GmbH., Essen-Steele	10,000	50.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.	Gusstahlwerk Witten AG., Witten	1,300	5.75	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.
Rheinische Röhrenwerke AG., Muelheim-Ruhr <i>Plants at</i> Muelheim, Duesseldorf, Hilden, Immigrath, Dinslaken, Wesel <i>and subsidiaries</i> a) "WURAGROHR" GmbH., Wickede b) Vereinigte Rohrleitungsbau (Phoenix-Märkische) GmbH., Duesseldorf	3,300	41.4	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.	Hüttenwerke Siegerland AG., Siegen <i>Plants at</i> Attendorn, Eichen, Huesten, Wissen, Langenei, Meggen <i>and the subsidiaries</i> a) Friedrichshütte AG. in Herdorf (2 works) b) Blechwaren und Fassfabrik Eichen-Attendorn GmbH., Kreuztal	4,000	13.8	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.
Stahlwerke Südwestfalen AG., Geisweid <i>Plants at</i> Geisweid, Hagen, Vorhalle and Werdohl <i>and subsidiary</i> Stahlwerke Brüninghaus GmbH., Werdohl	13,000	92.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.	August-Thyssen-Hütte AG., Duisburg-Hamborn	7,300	46.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.
	5,200	40.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG., Klöckner-Werke AG., Hoesch AG.		1,700	8.0	
		7.0				3.0	
					5,700	115.0	Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG.

holding the present impious system of church government, what say ye to this? Could infamy and blasphemy go any further? And yet those at the head of this system are still allowed to insult the country by proposing general fasts to people already starving, as well as impiously accusing the Almighty with spreading distress and pestilence over the land which they themselves have laid waste by their rapacity and worldly-mindedness! While the clergy were praying for the life of the deceased king to be preserved, the apartments formerly in the occupation of his Majesty were kept in the same state as when the monarch was alive, and the royal body, after being embalmed, was placed in a leaden coffin of needful substance. Our royal informant went on to state that these impositions were practised upon the public to give time for selecting proper persons to be despatched to Milan, or elsewhere, to gain intelligence what the Princess of Wales intended upon the demise of the king, as, in that event occurring, her Royal Highness would become queen consort.

Notwithstanding all this cunning and trickery, her Royal Highness was informed of the death of her father-in-law many months before it became publicly known. A junior branch of the royal family wrote to her: "The king is now dead, but this event will not be made known to the nation till certain arrangements are made, on behalf of the prince regent, to degrade you; and either keep

# THE NON-FERROUS METALS INDUSTRY

The non-ferrous metals industry developed early in Germany, although it had to rely largely on the processing of foreign ore. For deposits of ore in Germany are limited, and there is an almost complete lack of some metals, such as copper, tin, nickel and bauxite. After World War II, the German share of world consumption and production contracted very sharply, and only in the last few years has it begun to rise again.

## *The Position of the German Non-Ferrous Metals Industry in relation to World Production and Consumption\**

Metal	Year	German Production in 1,000 tons	Share of World Production %	German Consumption in 1,000 tons	Share of World Consumption %
Aluminum	1938	161.2	27.4	173.0	34.0
	1945	20.0	2.3	20.0	2.0
	1951	74.1	4.1	81.5	4.5
Copper	1938	313.4	14.2	446.9	19.4
	1945	15.0	0.7	30.0	1.3
	1951	204.8	6.5	186.1	5.7
Lead	1938	175.9	10.7	260.9	16.6
	1945	20.0	1.7	20.0	1.5
	1951	149.7	8.4	130.2	7.5
Zinc	1938	194.4	12.2	269.4	18.4
	1945	18.0	1.4	18.0	1.4
	1951	148.1	6.9	139.2	6.7

\* Figures since 1945 refer to the territory of the Federal Republic

## *Ore deposits*

The only metallic ores of which Germany has important deposits are lead and zinc; small quantities of copper ore are also being mined. The important lead and zinc ore deposits in Eastern Upper Silesia were already lost after World War I, mainly to Poland. The severance of the Russian Zone from the Federal Republic and the loss of the eastern territories have further reduced Western Germany's supplies of metallic ore. Measured against the metal content of the ore mined in 1938, the reduction in the case of lead amounts to about 25%, in zinc to over 40%, and in copper, owing to the loss of the copper slate mines near Mansfeld (Saxony), to nearly 90%.

Since 1947 German metal ore mining has achieved a steady increase in production, reaching its 1936 output by the middle of 1950. The most important west German lead and zinc deposits are being worked in the Harz (Unterharzer Berg- und Hüttenwerke GmbH. belonging to the PREUSSAG), and in the districts left and right of the Rhine (Gewerkschaft Mechernich, Eifel; the Maubach mine of the Stolberger Zink AG., Aix-la-Chapelle; the Ramsbeck — Sauerland — mine; and the Meggen enterprise of the Sachtleben AG., Cologne).

## *Mining of Metal Ore*

Year	Effective Metal Content in 1,000 tons		
	Zinc	Lead	Copper
1936	58.0	40.8	1.6
1947	25.5	16.0	0.3
1951	72.9	50.4	1.7
1952	80.7	51.5	2.4

Since 1951 the increase in the output of metal ore mines has progressively slowed down, as the maximum yield to be expected under prevailing conditions of production has more or less been reached.

A further increase in mining production is only possible with large-scale extension and mechanization of existing mines, further development of dressing methods, and the opening up of new deposits. All these probably depend on substantial investment of foreign capital.

As in the years before World War II, the ore from Western Germany's mines — in which, at the beginning of 1953, approximately 12,000 persons were employed — is not sufficient to cover the raw material requirements of the west German metal industry.

With the present state of mining, industry can be supplied with home-extracted ore to the following extent: lead, 35% to 45%; zinc, 40% to 50%. The mining of copper ore is practically negligible.

## *Capacity of the Metal Producing Industry*

The German metal producing industry — based on the processing of home and foreign basic materials — occupied an important position in the international field before World War II. In 1938 Germany had a 10% share in the world extraction of primary metals, at one time taking first place among aluminum-producing countries, with a share of nearly 30% of world production. Even her share in lead and zinc production was one-eighth of the world total. Owing to considerable war damage suffered by the non-ferrous metals industry, the subsequent dismantling, and the economic isolation of Central and Eastern Germany, the Federal Republic is in a much less favorable position. Thus West Germany's share of world production of basic metals, in spite of a remarkable effort of reconstruction, amounted to only 5.5% in 1950. Generally speaking, the metal industry did not recover from the effects of war until 1951. Its capacity has now extended to the point that it can fully satisfy home and export demands for metal.

The most important metal works in Western Germany are: for copper, the Norddeutsche Affinerie, Hamburg; Zinnwerk Wilhelmsburg; Hüttenwerk Kayser Lünen GmbH.; Metallhütte Kall GmbH., Kall, Eifel; for lead and zinc, Unterharzer Berg- und Hüttenwerke GmbH., Goslar; Stolberger Zink AG.,



also amply supplied by the royal command, and if further sums were found needful, they received letters of credit upon the principal banking houses named in the route they had to take. If any person in the common ranks of life gives away that which is not his to give, he renders himself liable to transportation; but it is said a "king can do no wrong!" The most disreputable of society were solicited to give information against the Princess of Wales, either with regard to any public or private intelligence they might have received; the most liberal offers were also made to remunerate the persons so inquired of. After an immense expense, information, though of a doubtful character, against the princess was obtained, only by purchase; and various were the despatches sent over to this country, and answered by the ministerial plotters, who exerted all their energies to bring the business to a consummation.

During such disreputable transactions, the princess knew the real cause of all the attempts to insult and degrade her character; and she, therefore, without delay, advised with her legal friends what steps were most proper to take. Alas! the princess was doomed only to receive fresh insults; delay followed delay; excuses of the most palliative description were used, instead of sound advice and positive opinion, and it appeared as if every hand were raised against her. Indeed, the perplexed and mortifying situation of the princess

Aix-la-Chapelle; Metallwerke Unterweser, Nordenham on the Weser; for aluminum, Vereinigte Aluminiumwerke AG., Bonn, with works in Lünen, Westphalia, Töging, Bavaria, and Grevenbroich near Cologne; also Aluminiumindriegemeinschaft Constance, with works in Rheinfelden. Finally, the Duisburger Kupferhütte, Duisburg, must be mentioned among the most important firms producing various non-ferrous metals.

The output of the heavy metal works rose in 1952 by almost a third over 1936; aluminum production, freed from restrictions in 1951, had, by the spring of 1952, more than doubled its output as compared with 1936.

#### Production of Metalworks

(in 1,000 tons)

Year	Aluminum	Refined Copper	Soft and Hard Lead	Crude and Refined Zinc
1936	48.6	139.6	141.3	89.6
1948	7.5	39.5	64.7	43.3
1950	27.8	133.7	141.5	136.1
1951	74.1	141.1	149.7	148.1
1952	100.5	141.6	135.5	150.8

The production of magnesium was also important in Germany before the war, but is now completely nonexistent. It is prohibited in Western Germany, and the greater part of the magnesium production installations of the Wintershall AG. have been

dismantled. The magnesium works in the Russian-occupied part of Germany, in particular the great Aken plant near Dessau, have been moved to Russia or switched to other kinds of production. The tin and titanium production of both Western and Eastern Germany is negligible.

#### The Semi-finished Non-ferrous Metals Industry

The west German industry producing semi-finished non-ferrous metals consists — apart from a few large undertakings — mainly of small and medium-sized works. Among the best known larger works producing a comprehensive range of semi-finished goods are the Vereinigte Metallwerke AG., Frankfurt, with a number of branches; the Osnabrücker Kupfer- und Drahtwerk, Hackethal; Draht- und Kabelwerke AG., Hanover; Kabel- und Metallwerke Neumeyer, Nuremberg; Wielandwerke AG., Ulm; Vereinigte Leichtmetallwerke GmbH., Bonn and Hanover; Busch-Jaeger Lüdenscheider Metallwerke AG.; Dürener Metallwerke AG.; Aluminiumwalzwerke Singen GmbH., Nuremberg.

The development of the west German industry producing semi-finished non-ferrous metals between World War II and the currency reform in 1948 was greatly hampered by shortages of raw materials, fuel, and labor. After a vigorous upsurge in 1949, production in 1950 exceeded that of 1936 by one-fifth. Since then, the rate of increase has slowed down markedly; in 1952 there was even a contraction.

#### Semi-finished Metals Production

(in 1,000 tons)

Year	Heavy Metal	Light Metal	Total
1936	285	70	355
1948	168	48	216
1951	379	96	475
1952	319	90	409

Having regard to the structure of the German metal economy, the semi-finished sector provides the natural export opportunities of the non-ferrous metals industry. Before World War II, Germany was the world's principal exporter of semi-finished metal. During the war, and after 1945, her position as international supplier was assumed by other countries, notably Great Britain, whose production and export of semi-finished metals has increased considerably over pre-war days. In the meantime, some markets have partly or completely vanished owing to industrialization of the countries concerned. Up to 1949, west German exports of semi-finished stuff were, therefore, negligible, but were increased to about half of their former volume in 1950. In 1951 further expansion was handicapped by the stringent metal supply position at home. An improvement in the following year permitted an increase in exports of about 8%.



Casting cobalt ingots in the Duisburger Kupferhütte

against himself, in having signed dishonourable deeds to injure the happiness of the princess. Conant, the poor Marlborough Street magistrate, who procured the attested evidence for impeachment, was created Sir Nathaniel, with an increase of a thousand pounds a year, as chief of all the police offices. The Douglasses were all either elevated to wealth, office, or rank. The Jerseys stood in the sunshine of the court ; and the Rev. Mr. Bates, then editor of *The Herald*, and her bitterest enemy, was created a baronet, and promoted high in the Church. Such was the fortune of her accusers ; but how different was that of her supporters !

## Export of Semi-finished Metal

(in tons)

Semi-finished Products of:	1936 German Reich	1950	1951 Federal Republic	1952
Aluminum	7,129	8,982	13,614	10,360
Copper	75,793	27,678	17,748	24,316
Lead	2,923	2,189	7,668	7,162
Zinc	8,814	5,154	5,414	5,039
Nickel	226	268	292	1,151
Tin	37	27	25	2
Totals	94,922	44,298	44,761	48,030

About 1,000 firms are engaged in the production of non-ferrous metal castings, of which approximately 650 produce less than 5 tons per month and employ less than 10 workers. Among the largest firms are the Honselwerke AG., Meschede; I.G. Schwietzke Metallwerke, Duesseldorf; Siegerländer Kupferwerke GmbH., Weidenau; and Froha Bronzwerke, Hagen-Haspe. Foundries are often operated as departments of the large and medium-sized firms in the non-ferrous metal industry. In metal castings, also, the trend of production was steeply upwards after currency reform, and the pre-war position had been considerably improved upon by 1950.

## THE IRON, STEEL, SHEET METAL, AND METAL GOODS INDUSTRY

The German generic term "Eisen-, Stahl-, Blech- und Metallwaren" (Iron, Steel, Sheet Metal, and Metal Goods Industry) covers three large branches: drawing and cold rolling mills, steel-working, and the iron, sheet metal and metal goods industry. Also included under it are a number of smaller, but economically important industries, such as toy-making, jewelry and silverware, the musical instruments industry and, lastly, the gymnastic apparatus and sports gear industry. Altogether there are about 12,000 works with 500,000 employees. To promote their technical and economic interests, these firms are organized in 30 trading associations, which in turn have their roof organization.

Among the leading associations are: the Association of Drawing and Cold Rolling Mills, Duesseldorf; the Steel Working Union, Hagen, Westphalia; the Association of Iron, Sheet Metal, and Metal Goods Industries, Duesseldorf; the Union of German Toy and Christmas Decoration Manufactures, Nuremberg; the German Jewelry and Silverware Co-operative, Pforzheim; the Union of Musical Instruments and Gramophone Manufacturers, Stuttgart-Sued; the Sports Goods Industry Union, Bad Godesberg; and the Union of the Imitation Jewelry Industry, Oberursel (Taunus).

In the iron, steel, sheet metal, and metal goods industry there are no price regulations or trading rings; indeed, there are none such in the Federal Republic. There are, therefore, no negotiations on the fixing of prices, conditions of sale, etc., such as are usual practice, for instance, in the case of cartels.

### *Many-sided Production Program*

The iron, steel, sheet iron, and metal goods industry exhibits a uniquely versatile production program.

Thus, drawing and cold rolling mills supply products in the first stage of manufacture for use as basic materials in all branches of the manufacturing industries, e. g., cold drawn wire, cold strip, bright steel, and precision steel tubes. These products are supplied in every type, shape, size, di-

mension, degree of refinement, and surface finish for all purposes in industry, agriculture, trades, and transport. In addition, the drawing and cold rolling mills produce finished goods such as wire ropes, barbed wire, stranded wire, wiregauze, wire netting, wire nails, piano strings, welding electrodes, metal shoe fittings, springs, etc.

This branch is dominated by a few large firms, such as Westfälische Union AG. and Westfälische Drahtindustrie, Hamm, Westphalia; Westfalenhütte AG., Dortmund; Klöckner Drahtindustrie, Duesseldorf; Gutehoffnungshütte, Gelsenkirchen; Felten & Guileume Carlswerk Eisen- und Stahl-AG., Cologne-Muelheim; and Rösler-Draht AG., Waldniel. But besides these "giants", there are another 450 firms, many of which, such as those in the Altenau district, look back on a long tradition and enjoy steady sales.

Steel-working also belongs to the first stage of manufacture. It comprises the production of drop and free forgings, flanged steel, steel fittings, steel filings, axles of all types; pressed, drawn, and stamped parts of every size and for all purposes; hot and cold worked springs for vehicles and for technical use, screws, rivets, and standard parts; chains; agricultural implements such as shovels, spades, forks, scythes, picks, rakes; anvils, plate shears, boring bars, winding gear; also mining accessories, as well as iron powder and sinter cake.

The steel-working firms have a comprehensive production program, and some of them also engage in iron-working. Among them, the Deutsche Edelstahl-Werke, Ruhrstahl AG., Witten, and the Eisenwerk Wanheim and Hüttenwerk Hoerde specialize more particularly in steel-working. Others belong rather to the iron, sheet metal, and metal goods group.

The most multiform branch is iron, sheet metal, and metal goods. It occupies a special position as a supplier of industry, agriculture, business, trades, transport, households, and every sphere of human activity in which consumer goods of the most diverse types and value are required.

and unimpaired that which has never yet been shaken or sullied,—our public credit, and our national good faith.” Now let us ask the reason why an extra immense burden of taxation was to be levied upon the people. The queen was acknowledged to be dead, and certainly could not be chargeable to the nation by her personal expenditure or allowance. The king was also dead, though his income was received as usual, as well as the Duke of York’s ten thousand pounds for attending him. Royal and ministerial extravagance likewise caused the useless outlay of twenty thousand five hundred pounds for snuff-boxes, besides twelve hundred guineas as presents to three German barons. The gift of an axe or a halter would have better accorded with the financial state of the empire.

The prince regent closed the session in person on the 13th of July; and, at the conclusion of his speech, adverted to the seditious spirit (what sensible man could feel surprised at it?) which was evident in the manufacturing districts, and avowed a firm determination to employ the powers provided by law for its suppression, instead of promising the people redress of grievances.

In Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, and Stockport, the meetings of the inhabitants now became very numerous, while all means were taken by the local authorities to provoke general confusion.

On the 16th of August the memorable meeting

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Leather goods market in a traditional setting.

the soldiers could have come so suddenly and unexpectedly upon the multitudes, unless by previous order and arrangement. Further than this, an hour ought to have transpired after such reading before a soldier or civil officer could be authorised to interfere in dispersing the meeting. As a proof of the corresponding features of this unexampled and murderous business, a letter was written by the pious Lord Sidmouth, in the name of the regent, to the Earl of Derby, presenting thanks for the vigorous and able conduct of the magistracy and military of Manchester on the 16th. Thus were the lives and liberties of the open-hearted population of these kingdoms allowed to be at the control of an impotent and heartless statesman; for it appeared that the regent was not at hand to have given his assent to this unparalleled piece of barefaced audacity. Lord Sidmouth should have been more careful of dates, as the "royal dandy" was at that time taking a little pleasure near the Isle of Wight. But the following particulars will explain the systematic plan of this cold-blooded massacre:

Mr. H. N. Bell, before this period, was confidentially employed at the office of the secretary of state, in the capacity of genealogist, under the immediate control of Lord Sidmouth. Some considerable period before the melancholy butchery, he was engaged to proceed to Manchester, in company with two other persons, for the avowed

the other hand, 30 per cent of all the employed work in the 25 per cent of firms with more than 200 employees.

#### *Export Business*

The turnover of the iron, steel, sheet metal, and metal goods industry was approximately 8,600 million DM in 1952, exceeding 1936 by 37%. 1953 brought an increase of about 10%. Of the total turnover, more than 1,000 million DM are accounted for by exports. These declined in value both in 1952 and 1953 as compared with the previous year in each case, but their volume was maintained. Their share in total German exports declined from 8% in 1951 to 5.8% in 1953.

It is characteristic for the structure of the industry that exports do not represent a few large orders but are the result of innumerable small and even minute ones. The average value of the individual export order is in the neighborhood of 750 DM! These figures represent a great treasure of industry, of care for the particular needs and wishes of individual customers, of valued and enduring business relationships. It is nevertheless true that, owing to the industrialization of countries which formerly were purely agricultural and to general modifications of economic structure, the pre-war volume of exports has not yet been reached.

The sales price of the products of the industry includes a particularly high proportion for processing by skilled labor. As a result of the work put into it at the various stages of manufacture, the value of the finished product even attains ten or fifteen times that of the original metals in certain cases. With first-class products this proportion is often many times higher. This is particularly the case for jewelry, fancy goods and cut metal goods, but applies also to quality goods from the wire or polished fine steel branches, and other highly refined articles.

## THE MACHINE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

The industrialization which followed the invention of the steam engine in the last century progressed with particular speed in Germany, which became the largest producer of machinery in the world — a position she did not lose until the rapid rise of the United States. Germany remained the leading machine producer in Europe and the principal machine exporter in the world until World War II. After the war she had to relinquish her position. Today she lies in third place behind the USA and Great Britain in world export of machinery, leading France, Switzerland, Sweden and Italy by a considerable margin. The value of the combined machinery exports of the last-mentioned four countries does not exceed the figure for Western Germany alone.

#### *Favorable Production and Marketing Conditions*

In Germany, the conditions for the development of this industry, which is of such importance

#### *Steel Consumption*

The iron, steel, sheet metal, and metal goods industry is among the principal users of rolled steel in the Federal Republic, consuming about 30% of total production. This close relationship between steel supplier and user has the effect that all important economic or technical changes in the raw materials situation, whether these be shortages, price alterations, or matters of trade policy, have immediate repercussions on the industry. While prices of hot rolled iron and steel rose by 30% between 1951 and 1953, of cold rolled materials by 26%, of coal by 17%, and of power by 24%, the prices of the finished products of the iron, steel, sheet metal, and metal goods industry were largely kept stable by means of internal economies. When increases were necessary in spite of rationalization, these were below 10% — in some cases substantially below. There are no bottlenecks in the supply of raw materials.

The iron, steel, sheet metal, and metal goods industry believes in free enterprise and unrestricted trade at home and abroad. It is therefore among the promoters of the liberalization of international trade. More than 90% of its own products are on the "free list" of the Federal Republic. They may be exported to the Federal Republic by the member nations of the OEEC in any quantity, free from import restrictions by quota or license. German import duties are kept low. This attitude is based on the hope that the restrictions on world trade, whatever their nature, will be progressively relaxed. The iron, steel, sheet metal, and metal goods industry regards as its greatest achievement the fact that since the war it has succeeded, by dint of a great effort of reconstruction, in regaining the confidence which it formerly enjoyed throughout the world. This it guards as a precious trust and a pledge of friendly and lasting connections.

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plot just mentioned, he made no further scruple, but became a passive engine, directed in his actions by the command of ministers and state empirics. Lord Sidmouth was dissatisfied with the Manchester business ; he had hoped that many more might have been brought to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, thereby affording an awful example to deter others from daring to question the excellency of the government under which they lived, and the generous disposition of the governors. We are aware that some people attributed this affair to the magistracy ; but they would not have dared to interfere in such a manner as they did, unless sanctioned and supported by the higher powers. The cause of a selfish, cruel, and despotic ministry required the assistance of corresponding heartless servants, and they obtained it. Lord Castlereagh, however, threw out many insinuations that the Manchester plot was a very bold and desperate undertaking ; but the pious doctor “laid the flattering unction to his soul of its expediency,” believing some such infamous procedure needful to rivet the iron sceptre of despotism. How well does the repentant language of a certain wicked king apply here !

“My fault is past. But, O, what form of prayer  
Can serve my turn? Forgive me my foul murder! —  
That cannot be, since I am still possess’d  
Of those effects for which I did the murder !

. . . . .

existence of which made possible that large measure of specialization necessary for efficient working and also as a prerequisite for effective competition in markets abroad. Thus the wide range of home demand was the foundation both of an equally wide range of exports and of their ability to be competitive.

#### *A Cornerstone of German Economy*

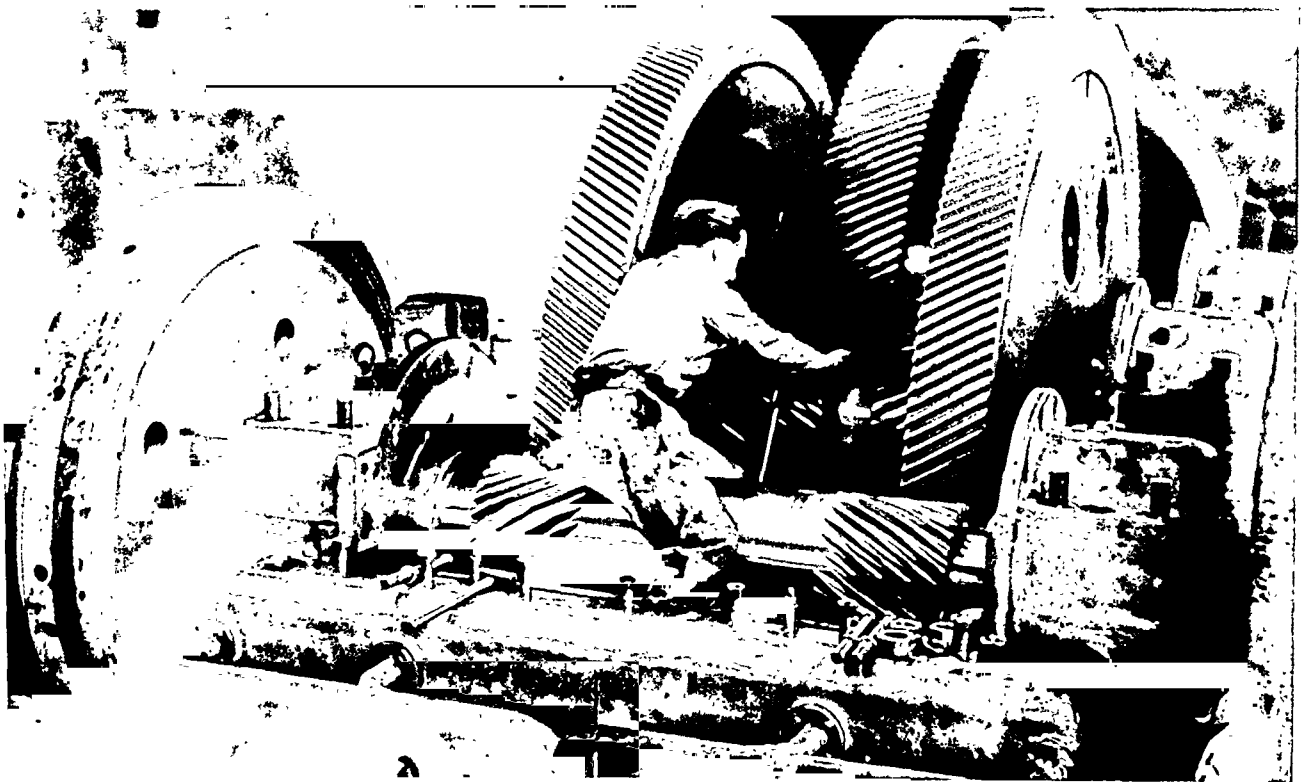
The engineering industry is one of the most important in the German economy. It comprises by far the most important subdivision of the iron and steel primary and manufacturing industries; and in the overall industrial picture, it is the leading employer of labor along with textiles, which employ roughly the same number of people. At present, about 575,000 people, or one in ten of Germany's industrial workers, are employed in machine construction enterprises.

Turnover, which is an unsatisfactory yardstick to measure the importance of an industrial branch in that it often reflects the different contributions of previous stages of manufacture in other industries, is lower in mechanical engineering than in the textile and food industries. In 1952 machine construction accounted for 8.5% of the total industrial turnover.

The engineering industry leads in exports with a share of 22.5% of the total, far ahead of coal (10.3%) and chemicals (12.5%). Machines are thus Germany's principal exports.

*Specialized Small, Medium, and Large Undertakings*

Engineering in the Federal Republic today comprises about 3,500 undertakings, most of which are of small or medium size. Approximately 70 per cent of all undertakings have less than 100 employees. The economic significance of the relative sizes of undertakings is brought out better if measured against employment figures for the industry as a whole. Enterprises with 100 to 499 employees represent 22% of the total number of firms, but employ 32% of the labor force. The very large firms with 2,000 and more employees make up barely 1% of the total, but employ 19% of all labor. Although the large firms like DEMAG and MAN are, by reason of their efficiency and their world renown, better known than medium or small undertakings, the importance of the latter must on no account be underestimated. On the contrary, the strong position of the smaller and medium businesses shows that they have been in no way eliminated in the course of technical progress and industrialization and the inevitable trend towards larger units. Increasing specialization has, in fact, demanded a concentrated and strictly-defined production program in many fields, to the direction and development of which the small and medium firms have been able to devote their special efforts. They therefore share largely in the high esteem which the German engineering industry has acquired in the world, and in the conquest of export markets where it is so often a question of fulfilling a special demand.



*Assembling a machine of imposing proportions*

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true that it might be said that some of these did not suffer from the sabres of the yeomanry, but a very large proportion, he would take on himself to say, were wounded in that manner; and, at all events, it was quite certain that no accident whatever would have occurred but for the outrageous attack that had been made on the peaceable multitude. Nor was it men alone that suffered. Women were cut down also. And were these men to be called soldiers? Was this their way of showing their high courage and their honour by cutting down inoffensive females? He would ask any man of humanity in that House, whether such disgraceful acts ought to be passed by unnoticed and unpunished, merely because it could be said that twelve years had elapsed since the transaction had taken place? But another excuse that perhaps might be made was, that the meeting was an illegal one. In answer to that, however, he would take on himself to say that, in his opinion, and in the opinion of those who constituted the meeting, they were as legally, ay, and as meritoriously assembled as that House was assembled; and for as useful a purpose. No one was insulted — no tumult took place — no symptoms of riot were evinced; and yet was it for a moment to be said that, in such a country as this, where there was a continual boast of the omnipotence of justice, such things were to be passed over without notice and without censure?

existence of which made possible that large measure of specialization necessary for efficient working and also as a prerequisite for effective competition in markets abroad. Thus the wide range of home demand was the foundation both of an equally wide range of exports and of their ability to be competitive.

#### *A Cornerstone of German Economy*

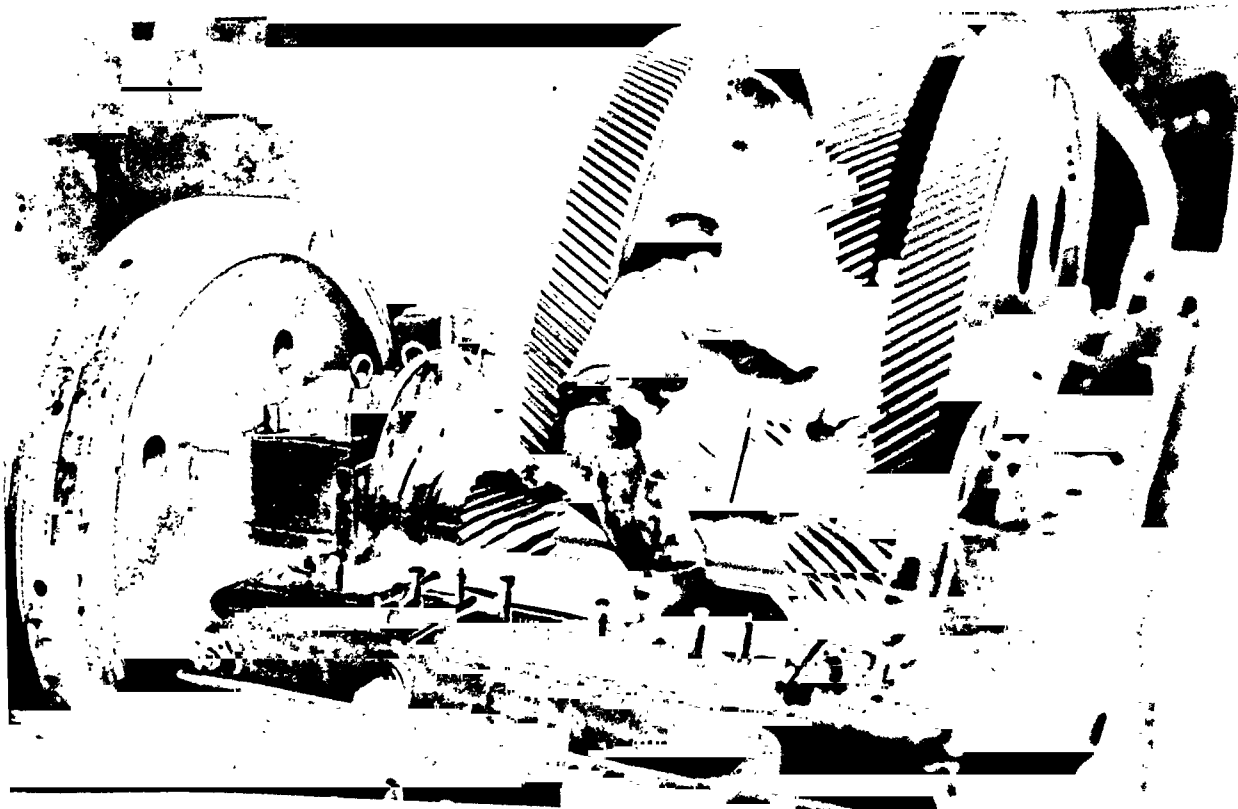
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*Assembling a machine of large size*

persons had met at Birmingham, and actually made a declaration to the same effect ; and yet they were not cut down, — the yeomanry had not been called out to act against them. This motion for a select committee had, in a manner, become absolutely necessary ; for when he had moved for the correspondence that had taken place between Lord Sidmouth (then the secretary of state) and the lord lieutenant of the county, that correspondence had been refused ; and, therefore, he had no other course to pursue than to ask for a committee for general inquiry into the whole question. Some part of Lord Sidmouth's correspondence, however, was before the public ; for he had in his hand that letter of his lordship's in which he, in the name of the prince regent, thanked the magistracy for the way in which they had acted, — yes, actually thanked them for having directed the execution of these cold-blooded murders, — by which name he must call those deeds, and by which name they were ever designated in that part of the country where they had been committed. The consequence of this letter was, that the parties, so far from shrinking abashed as they ought, actually gloried in the share they had taken in the transaction ; and, in particular, he might mention that an Irishman of the name of Meagher, who was the trumpeter on that occasion, had boasted, when he returned to Ireland, that he had in one day spilled more Saxon blood than had ever been spilled by

Even in the highly-industrialized United States, small and medium firms, measured in terms of labor employed and turnover, have proved themselves thoroughly viable, efficient and competitive. Owing to their differing structure, the various branches of machine construction demand great variations in the size of plant. There are branches where the largest unit rarely has more than 50 workers, whereas in other manufacturing branches such a labor force would not be sufficient even to start production. Large units appear primarily where much capital, extensive constructional and preparatory work, or large-scale installations are required, as in steel and rolling mills and the production of chemical apparatus, and also where it is possible to engage in chain production (e. g., office machinery, sewing machines, roller bearings, etc.). It has already been stated that the productivity of the German machine construction industry rests, in the first place, on the high level of technical skill of its workers and employees. It is a proof of the importance the machine building industry attaches to the employment of qualified labor (workers, engineers, technical and office staff) that the level of wages and salaries is above average and the proportion of skilled labor is the highest of any German industry. More than half (52.2%) of the workers in engineering are skilled, having become so after an apprenticeship of several years duration. Another 17.3% are semi-skilled, qualifying for their particular jobs after an apprenticeship usually lasting several months.

The skilled worker thus represents the core of the labor force in machine construction. On that fact rests, to a large extent, the world-wide reputation of the industry and its flexibility and adaptability, which are so important in the export trade. The training of suitable new recruits is also given careful attention. For that reason a relatively large number of workshop apprentices are employed. They account for some 12% of the labor force, but for only 4% of German industrial labor as a whole. Although the proportionate cost of materials in the end product of the machine industry is in some cases high, wages are, generally speaking, the largest single factor. Roughly three-tenths of the proceeds of total sales is paid out as wages and salaries.

As the manufacturing program of the machine construction industry is so comprehensive and varied (in spite of condensation, the official statistics still list more than 1,000 different types of machines), it is impossible to deal with individual branches within the framework of a short summary on the importance and development of the industry. Table 2 may, however, convey an idea of the weight of individual lines relative to total machinery production. From it, the overwhelming importance of machine tools clearly emerges. If, however, farm tractors are counted as agricultural machinery, then this branch takes first place with a considerable lead.

The machine construction industry has been a prominent contributor to the recovery of the German economy. It has been called upon to perform quite exceptional tasks, as its own productive equipment emerged severely damaged after the war, and its remaining modern and effective installations were further reduced by dismantling. Thus, before the German economy could be equipped with the plant and machinery required for reconstruction, the means of production of the mechanical engineering industry had first to be rehabilitated. Many great difficulties had to be faced, but they were overcome in a comparatively short time.

In order to do full justice to this achievement, it has to be realized that the capacity of the machine building industry had not only been greatly reduced as a direct and indirect result of the war, but also as a result of the zonal division of Germany, which, incidentally, brought about considerable structural maladjustments. Before the war, the industry had a balanced production program geared to home market and export requirements. Production was carried on all over the German Reich, with a certain amount of regional differentiation and specialization. Thus, owing to its dependence on raw materials, the heavy machine industry was mostly located in the Ruhr; the textile machine industry, because of the incidence of demand, mainly in Saxony; and the office machinery and precision machine tools industries, where manufacture requires exceptionally experienced, specialized and qualified hands, mainly in Berlin. Of the total capacity of the Reich territory, about three-fifths belonged to what is now the Federal Republic. Bottlenecks due to zonal division have been particularly marked in office machinery, textile machinery, machine tools, and paper making and processing machines.

Further difficulties were occasioned by the loss of valuable proprietary rights abroad and the absence of protection for patents, which initially inhibited new construction or the exploitation of inventions. But, also, the lack of coal and steel in the immediate post-war period permitted only small use being made of the already greatly reduced capacity of the industry. In addition, there were prohibitions and restrictions on production, particularly in machine tools where, therefore, the revival took longer than in other branches. Furthermore, the complete severance from world markets initially prevented any contact with former customers abroad.

Thanks to the extraordinary drive and tenacious will to rebuild on the part of executives who, together with workers and employees, labored indefatigably on the reconstruction of their factories, the firms succeeded not only in restoring the original capacity but also in enlarging it and modernizing plants at the same time. Thus, production is now carried on by the most up-to-date and

Earl of Liverpool. And where was the Earl of Liverpool? Who were the principal officers of state of that day? Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Canning, and Lord Castlereagh. Of these, Lord Sidmouth alone remained; and where was Mr. Canning? where Lord Castlereagh, and how did he go out of the world? A remarkable fact it was, that two years afterward, on the very anniversary of that fatal 16th of August, while he was lying in prison, the very first letter that he opened detailed to him the end of that minister. Who was the reigning prince of that day? — George the Fourth — where was he? They had all gone to answer for their deeds at a tribunal where no jury could be packed, where no evidence could be stifled, and where unerring justice would be meted out to them. To carry this further, if it needed it, he might mention that two of those very yeomanry committed suicide on the very anniversary of the 16th of August, and many were now to be seen walking about the streets of Manchester, objects of a horrid pity. He would not say that all this was a just judgment on these participators in the murders of Manchester; but one might almost fancy that, though a House of Commons could not be found to deal out impartial justice, there was still a wise Providence over all, which, by its interference, had taken care not to let the guilty escape; and, as a climax to the whole, he hoped to live to see the day when the noble lord who yet



call on the noble chancellor of the exchequer to second the motion. The noble lord had, twelve years ago, pretty freely expressed his opinion as to the transaction; and he presumed that that opinion had not been altered by the lapse of time. The laws of England and of every country had always been unanimous in expressing their abhorrence of the crime of murder; and it was because he charged those parties with being guilty of a deliberate and cold-blooded murder that he demanded an inquiry, in the name of justice and retribution."

We offer no apology for introducing this eloquent and manly appeal in behalf of long delayed justice. The popularity or unpopularity of Mr. Hunt forms no consideration in our minds; nay, even if the Duke of Cumberland himself (much as we loathe his character!) had been its author, it should still have found a place in our volume. How the ministers could reconcile it with their duty, both to God and man, to refuse the inquiry, we are at a loss to determine, particularly as each of them formerly expressed a desire for it. It is really astonishing with what different eyes men see things when in office and when toiling to get in!

In the October of this year, the Princess of Wales removed to Marseilles, weary of the attempts to traduce and insult her character by hirelings from the English court. A friend of

of governing, there were frequently many circumstances which were highly necessary to be concealed from the knowledge of the people. That precious trio, Sidmouth, Castlereagh, and Canning, environed the throne, and their dictatorial will was soon converted into law. Under their auspices, the already enormous standing army was still increased; while, like the tyrannical son of Philip, when he reprimanded Aristotle for publishing his discoveries, they whispered to their myrmidons, "Let us diffuse darkness around the land. Let the people be kept in a brutal state. Let their conduct, when assembled, be riotous and irrational as ignorance and our spies can make it, that they may be brought into discredit, and deemed unfit for the management of their own affairs. Let power be rendered dangerous in their hands, that it may continue unchallenged in our own. Let them not taste the fruit of the tree of knowledge, lest they become as wise as ourselves!" Such were the political sentiments of those at the head of affairs at this period; how successfully they acted upon them is too well known.

The nation opened its eyes, and a new era of ministerial conduct commenced. More than by the speech that proclaimed the end of the regime it contained hints that their exclusive verbiage, treating supporters of the Government as

in the pay of government not only stoutly denied that such distress existed, but made the grossest attempts to impose on the public credulity. Let any one read such papers of the period we are speaking, if the employment be not too nauseous, and they will there see known facts, if they militated against the credit of the voluptuous regent, or his government, either doubted or denied; uncertain victories extolled beyond all resemblance to truth; and defeats, in the highest degree disgraceful and injurious, artfully extenuated. Notwithstanding all this effrontery and falsehood, the "Six Acts" were still thought necessary to gag that which corruption and bribery could not render quite inefficient in the cause of truth. While contemplating such acts of tyranny, we are led to exclaim with Cato, when seeking out the little barren spot of Utica, "Wherever there is a regard for liberty, justice, and humanity, there will we gladly take up our abode; for there we shall find a country and a home!"

The extraordinary events that occurred in the year 1820 are so closely interwoven with the weal and woe of the British people that it may be considered as one of the most serious periods in English history.

On the 15th of January the Duke of Kent became indisposed with a severe cold. On the 17th of the same month it was reported "that his Royal Highness's illness had assumed most alarm-



sible, situation in which he stood, from any feeling of esteem or attachment to an individual so unworthy? In the other case, if Queen Caroline, as almost everybody believed, and as Mr. Brougham solemnly swore he believed, was innocent, was there any circumstance or consideration upon earth, — the wreck of ambition, the loss of fortune, or the fear of even death itself, — which should have induced an English gentleman, a man of honour, a man who had the feelings of a man, to leave a female, whom he called "friend," beneath the weight of so awful an oppression? To us, we must confess, Mr. Canning's conduct on this occasion appears one of the greatest blots we are acquainted with upon his public and private character, the almost unequivocal proof of a mind unused to the habit of taking sound and elevated views of the human action. Mr. Canning had, during a long career, — a career continued through nearly thirty years, — been the forward and unflinching opponent of popular principles and concessions. He had never once shrunk from abridging the liberties of the subject; he had never once shown trepidation at any extraordinary powers demanded by the Crown. With his arms folded, and his looks erect, he had sanctioned, without scruple, the severest laws against the press; he had advocated the arbitrary imprisonment of the free citizen; he had eulogised the forcible repression of public meetings; and he had

come and dine with me to-day." "May not I bring Lord Hutchinson with me, please your Majesty?" "Certainly not." "But I hope you will see Lord Hutchinson?" "Yes; let him come directly." The queen then assembled her whole household, and received his lordship in the midst of a formal circle, talked upon indifferent subjects for about a quarter of an hour; then rose, and, gracefully curtseying, left the room. Most of the household followed; and Mr. Brougham, with his friend, Lord Hutchinson, did not remain long behind. Mr. Brougham afterward returned, but appeared exceedingly disconcerted. Lady Hamilton was present, and tried to draw him into conversation upon various subjects; but he answered, rather abruptly, "You and the alderman are leading the queen to her destruction." The lady replied, that was a mistake; she did not interfere in political affairs. Mr. Brougham begged pardon, and the subject was ended by the queen entering the room to dinner. The dinner passed off very well; her Majesty appeared in good spirits, as did Mr. Brougham. It was the queen's general practice not to sit long after dinner; she, therefore, soon retired with her lady, and the gentlemen adjourned to the drawing-room to await the serving of coffee. By her Majesty's orders, her maids were waiting with her travelling dress, with the carriages all ready in the courtyard, in the first of which her Majesty immediately seated herself, as

morning. "No, no," said the queen, "drive straight to the shore;" and out she got, like a girl of fifteen, and was in the packet before any one else. "There," said her Majesty, "now I can breathe freely, — now I am protected by English laws." The queen was hardly seated, when Alderman Wood presented her with a note from Mr. Brougham, entreating her Majesty to return, if only for the night, to D'Estaing's, and promising that no harm should happen to her. "No, no," replied the queen, "I am safe here, and I will not trust him;" and then threw a mattress in the middle of her cabin, with some blankets, and slept there all night. In the morning, when her Majesty was about to land at Dover, she seemed a little intimidated, in consequence of the dense multitude through which she had to pass. Her Majesty's fears, however, were entirely groundless, as she soon found the hearts of Britons were friendly to her cause, though they exemplified it rather roughly; for her feet were never permitted to touch the ground from the time her Majesty left the vessel till her arrival at the inn, which she availed herself of with feelings of the most gratifying description, at the sympathy manifested in the cause of persecuted virtue.

As soon as her Majesty could procure horses, she set forward to Canterbury, where she was received with similar acclamations. The populace insisted upon drawing her Majesty out of the

livered from the king to both Houses of Parliament, communicating certain reports and papers respecting the queen's misconduct while abroad. On the following Thursday a committee was appointed in the House of Lords; but the queen transmitted a communication to the House of Commons, protesting against the reference of her accusations to a secret tribunal, and soliciting an open investigation of her conduct.

Thus was commenced a prosecution in principle and object every way calculated to rouse the generous and constitutional feelings of the nation, and the effects were without parallel in the history of all countries! Could a more outrageous insult possibly have been offered to her dignity, to the honour of her husband, the king, or to the morality and decency of the community at large?

Up to this time, Prince Leopold had not tendered his respects to her Majesty; yet he was the widowed husband of the queen's only and dearly beloved daughter. His Serene Highness had been raised from a state of comparative poverty and obscurity to be honoured with the hand of England's favourite princess, from whose future reign was expected a revival of commerce and an addition of glory. Though this prince was enjoying an annual income of fifty thousand pounds from the country; though he had town and country residences, of great extent and magnificent appearance; though he abounded with horses and



can assure you that you have that of my brother, the regent.

“ ‘Yours,

(Signed) “ ‘———.’ ”

“The officer who made the above statement and declaration is a most creditable person, and the witnesses are all in this country.

“LONDON, May 7, 1820.

“Furnished to supply the queen with proof that the royal duke in question is leagued against her, in accordance with the wishes of the king!

“PRIVATE DOCUMENT.

“ ‘Captain King’s agent is Mr. Stillwell, 22 Arundel Street, Strand, London, and the surgeon who was present during the period the royal duke’s letter was read is James Hall. The witnesses were—Mr. Freshfield, 3 Tokenhouse Yard; Mr. Holmes, 3 Lyon’s Inn; and Mr. Stokoe, 2 Lancaster Court; as also before Barry O’Meara.

(Signed) “ ‘BARRY E. O’MEARA.’ ”

On the 24th of June a deputation of the House of Commons was appointed to wait upon her Majesty with the resolutions adopted by the House on Thursday, the 22d. They arrived at a quarter-past one o’clock. Mr. Wilberforce and

We suppose Mr. Wilberforce meant that, by suppressing her own feelings of honour, she would gratify the honour of the country ; and, by again quitting it, demonstrate her gratitude for its unshaken loyalty ; but the queen was firm in her resolve to claim justice, whether it was given or withheld.

In considering these base endeavours to injure innocence, in order to raise the noble character of a voluptuous prince, we cannot help remarking that power was the only weapon of the vitiated monarch, while right and justice formed the shield of the oppressed Queen of England. Indeed, every man, glowing with the sincere love of his country, and actuated by that honourable affection for its welfare which takes a lively and zealous interest in passing events, must have considered such proceedings against her Majesty fraught with inevitable evil. If her innocence, according to the prayers of millions of her subjects, should be made manifest, the public indignation would be sure to be roused, and probably prove resentful. The evidence was known to be of a description on which no magistrate would convict a common pickpocket, and, therefore, if the legislature should even be induced to consider her Majesty guilty of the charges preferred against her, public opinion would certainly refuse to ratify the sentence, and turn with disgust from those promulgating it. In either case, those venerable tribunals, consecrated by our

of every investigation power can suggest." Like another Cleopatra, our insulted queen might have played "the wanton" with impunity; her imperial bark might have displayed its purple streamers, swelled with the softest Cyprian breezes. It might have sailed triumphantly down the Adriatic, to meet some highly favoured lover. Yes, by desire of the king, her husband, the queen was requested to accept any terms beside those of a legitimate character. But her Majesty preserved her usual firmness and serenity of mind during the unequalled proceedings instituted against her, and frequently repeated the unequivocal expression, "Time will furnish sufficient proof of my innocence."

On the 5th of August the queen took possession of Brandenburg House, formerly the residence of the Margravine of Anspatch, situated near the Thames, and in the parish of Hammersmith. Her Majesty left Lady Hamilton's house at four o'clock, attended by her ladyship, and accompanied by Doctor Lushington, in an entirely new and elegant open carriage, drawn by four beautiful bay horses. They drove off amidst united shouts of applause from the assembled people.

Will future generations believe the historian's tale, that a queen — yes, a brave and virtuous Queen of England, too! — was refused a house and a home by the sovereign, her husband? That she, who was lured from her princely home, arrived in the centre of England, and was denied a resting-

has no personal feeling upon the subject." Very true, his Majesty could not have any personal feeling toward the queen; his royal feelings had always been confined to the libidinous and the most obnoxious of society. Had he been a worthy and upright plaintiff against the most unfortunate of defendants, would he have scrupled to have shown himself in his regal chair upon the continued debates arising from this most important question; and would not a sense of greatness and virtue, had he possessed either, after hearing the infamous statements of false witnesses, have influenced him to decline further proceedings, though his pride might have withheld an acknowledgment of error? This line of honest conduct was not followed, and we are therefore obliged to brand him as one of the most despicable and mean of the human race.

END OF VOLUME I.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Plan—Seditious Spirit—  
A Mob Is Trampled under Foot—Lord Sidmouth—Mr.  
Bell and His Accomplices—The Poetry of a Repentant  
King—No Charter to Privilege Murder—Killed and  
Wounded—A Speech before Parliament—Where Were  
the Principal Officers of State?—An Appeal for Long  
Delayed Justice—Bound in Honour—Political Sentiments  
—The Duke of Kent Dies—History Set Right—"The  
Cato Street Conspiracy"—Five Martyrs Suffer as Traitors.

N June, the chancellor of the exchequer submitted his plan of finance. It proved that the revenue was reduced eighteen millions, to meet which, extra loans were proposed to be raised and new taxes enforced. In doing this, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in the address to the regent, said: "In adopting this course, his Majesty's faithful Commons do not conceal from themselves that they are calling upon the nation for a great exertion; but, well knowing that honour, character, and independence have at all times been the first and dearest objects of the hearts of Englishmen, we feel assured that there is no difficulty that the country would not encounter, and no pressure to which it would not cheerfully submit, to enable us to maintain pure

and unimpaired that which has never yet been shaken or sullied,—our public credit, and our national good faith.” Now let us ask the reason why an extra immense burden of taxation was to be levied upon the people. The queen was acknowledged to be dead, and certainly could not be chargeable to the nation by her personal expenditure or allowance. The king was also dead, though his income was received as usual, as well as the Duke of York’s ten thousand pounds for attending him. Royal and ministerial extravagance likewise caused the useless outlay of twenty thousand five hundred pounds for snuff-boxes, besides twelve hundred guineas as presents to three German barons. The gift of an axe or a halter would have better accorded with the financial state of the empire.

The prince regent closed the session in person on the 13th of July; and, at the conclusion of his speech, adverted to the seditious spirit (what sensible man could feel surprised at it?) which was evident in the manufacturing districts, and avowed a firm determination to employ the powers provided by law for its suppression, instead of promising the people redress of grievances.

In Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, and Stockport, the meetings of the inhabitants now became very numerous, while all means were taken by the local authorities to provoke general confusion.

On the 16th of August the memorable meeting

at Manchester took place, for the purpose of petitioning for a reform in the representation. The assembly consisted of from sixty to one hundred thousand persons, who conducted themselves in the most peaceable manner. The assembled multitude, however, were suddenly surprised by the arrival of the Manchester yeomanry cavalry, to which were afterward added a regiment of the Cheshire yeomanry and a regiment of hussars, — the outlets being occupied by other military detachments. The unarmed thousands were now driven one upon another, and many were killed and wounded, while others were ridden over by the horses. The number ascertained to have been killed were eight men, two women, and one child; but the wounded were about six hundred. How well the words of a celebrated author apply to this diabolical proceeding: "A kingdom for a stage, princes to act, and to behold the grand effect; but at their heels, leashed in like hounds, may not sword, famine, fire, crouch for employment?" Numerous imprisonments followed, and many poor families were consequently deprived of support.

Historians are at issue whether or not the riot act was read before the scene of carnage commenced, as it is unconstitutional to send a military force to act before so doing. We, however, confidently assert it was not read in the hearing of any of the populace, neither was it at all likely that

the soldiers could have come so suddenly and unexpectedly upon the multitudes, unless by previous order and arrangement. Further than this, an hour ought to have transpired after such reading before a soldier or civil officer could be authorised to interfere in dispersing the meeting. As a proof of the corresponding features of this unexampled and murderous business, a letter was written by the pious Lord Sidmouth, in the name of the regent, to the Earl of Derby, presenting thanks for the vigorous and able conduct of the magistracy and military of Manchester on the 16th. Thus were the lives and liberties of the open-hearted population of these kingdoms allowed to be at the control of an impotent and heartless statesman; for it appeared that the regent was not at hand to have given his assent to this unparalleled piece of barefaced audacity. Lord Sidmouth should have been more careful of dates, as the "royal dandy" was at that time taking a little pleasure near the Isle of Wight. But the following particulars will explain the systematic plan of this cold-blooded massacre:

Mr. H. N. Bell, before this period, was confidentially employed at the office of the secretary of state, in the capacity of genealogist, under the immediate control of Lord Sidmouth. Some considerable period before the melancholy butchery, he was engaged to proceed to Manchester, in company with two other persons, for the avowed

purpose of inflaming the public mind against the ministry. He went, and the result was as his patron and employer, Lord Sidmouth, desired it. Mr. Bell and his associates expressed to the people of Manchester that they need not remain in their then starving condition, if, in an orderly and peaceable manner, they were to assemble on some convenient spot, and unanimously resolve to petition for a reform, so much needed, in the representation. These tools of the secretary of state told the famishing multitudes that, if they pleased to enjoy happiness and plenty, together with civil liberty, they had now an opportunity of accomplishing their most earnest wishes. Under their influence, clubs and unions were soon formed, and public notices were ultimately given, that a general meeting would take place on the 16th of August.

These preliminary arrangements being completed, the soldiery had instructions to be ready. The result was as before stated; and Mr. Bell and his accomplices returned to London as soon as their object was attained. The Duke of York acted a prominent part in this plot, from his military facilities; but the besotted prince was persuaded to get out of the way until the affair should be concluded.

Mr. Bell proved very useful in the office of the secretary, and as he had once forfeited his own good opinion, by lending himself to the diabolical

plot just mentioned, he made no further scruple, but became a passive engine, directed in his actions by the command of ministers and state empirics. Lord Sidmouth was dissatisfied with the Manchester business ; he had hoped that many more might have been brought to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, thereby affording an awful example to deter others from daring to question the excellency of the government under which they lived, and the generous disposition of the governors. We are aware that some people attributed this affair to the magistracy ; but they would not have dared to interfere in such a manner as they did, unless sanctioned and supported by the higher powers. The cause of a selfish, cruel, and despotic ministry required the assistance of corresponding heartless servants, and they obtained it. Lord Castlereagh, however, threw out many insinuations that the Manchester plot was a very bold and desperate undertaking ; but the pious doctor “laid the flattering unction to his soul of its expediency,” believing some such infamous procedure needful to rivet the iron sceptre of despotism. How well does the repentant language of a certain wicked king apply here !

“My fault is past. But, O, what form of prayer  
Can serve my turn? Forgive me my foul murder! —  
That cannot be, since I am still possess'd  
Of those effects for which I did the murder !

. . . . .

In the corrupted currents of this world,  
Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice;  
And oft 'tis seen, the wicked prize itself  
Buys out the law ! ”

This has proved but too true, as well in the Manchester affair as in many other diabolical state proceedings. The little value, indeed, which the ministers of this period entertained for human life ought never to be pardoned. Property, if seized or lost, may be restored ; or if not, man may enjoy a thousand delightful pleasures of existence without riches. The sun shines as warmly on the poor as on the rich ; the gale of health breathes its balsam into the cottage casement on the heath no less sweetly and salubriously than in the portals of the palace. But can the lords of this world, who think so little of the lives of their inferiors in wealth, with all their boasted power, relume the light of the eye once dimmed by the shades of death ? “ Accursed despots ! ” as a talented author well observes, “ show the world your authority for taking away that which ye never gave, and cannot give ; for undoing the work of God, and extinguishing the lamp of life which was illuminated with a ray from heaven ! Where is your charter to privilege murder ? ” All the gold of Ophir, all the gems of Golconda, cannot buy a single life, nor pay for its loss, — it is above all price. Yet when we take a view of the proceedings of Lord Sidmouth's junto, we are led to believe anything of more value



than human life. Crimes which had very little moral evil, if any, and which, therefore, could not incur the vengeance of a just and merciful God, were unceremoniously punished with death by this minister. Men, for instance, were liable to be shot for meeting peaceably together and making speeches, though proceeding from the purest and most virtuous principles, from the most enlarged benevolence, from wisdom and unaffected patriotism ; or for such speeches as might proceed from mere warmth of temper, neither intending nor accomplishing any mischief. Was not such the case in that horrible affair which we have just related ? But despots are ever frightened at their own shadows ; they tremble and become offended at the least alarm, and nothing but the blood of the accused can expiate the offence. It is, however, from such savage acts of barbarity that the goddess of liberty is aroused ; it is from the tyranny of her jailors that she eventually makes a progress irresistible, and carries with her fires destined to consume the throne of every despot that cannot bear the light. Various motions have been made since that accursed day to bring the surviving actors in the Manchester tragedy to condign punishment. Amongst the foremost in this laudable endeavour stands Mr. Hunt ; but his efforts have hitherto proved unavailing. Although we disapprove of the general conduct of the member for Preston, the meed of praise ought not to be with-

held from him for the admirable speech he delivered, relative to this subject, in March, 1832, as follows :

“ Mr. Hunt said the grossest misrepresentations had been made in Parliament respecting that occurrence ; and he felt that it was a matter deeply to be regretted, that there was not in the House of Commons, at the time, some person who had witnessed the transaction, and who could put the House in possession of the real facts. There was a hope, however, that the present government would grant an inquiry for which he was about to apply, in conformity with the prayer of the petitions which he had just presented, and with the desire of his constituents. He proceeded to detail the circumstances under which the meeting of the Manchester reformers, at which he presided, took place. He described the horrible scene which ensued upon the dispersion of the meeting by an unprovoked and unresisted charge of the yeomanry cavalry. The House would have some notion of the violence and cruelty of the military from this fact, that when a number of men, women, and children had crowded into a small court, from which there was no thoroughfare, one of the yeomanry drove them out, whilst another struck at each of them with his sabre, as they came out. The number of persons killed on that day amounted to fifteen, while the maimed and wounded were no fewer than 424. It was

true that it might be said that some of these did not suffer from the sabres of the yeomanry, but a very large proportion, he would take on himself to say, were wounded in that manner; and, at all events, it was quite certain that no accident whatever would have occurred but for the outrageous attack that had been made on the peaceable multitude. Nor was it men alone that suffered. Women were cut down also. And were these men to be called soldiers? Was this their way of showing their high courage and their honour by cutting down inoffensive females? He would ask any man of humanity in that House, whether such disgraceful acts ought to be passed by unnoticed and unpunished, merely because it could be said that twelve years had elapsed since the transaction had taken place? But another excuse that perhaps might be made was, that the meeting was an illegal one. In answer to that, however, he would take on himself to say that, in his opinion, and in the opinion of those who constituted the meeting, they were as legally, ay, and as meritoriously assembled as that House was assembled; and for as useful a purpose. No one was insulted — no tumult took place — no symptoms of riot were evinced; and yet was it for a moment to be said that, in such a country as this, where there was a continual boast of the omnipotence of justice, such things were to be passed over without notice and without censure?

He could assure the House that, if this inquiry was not granted, there would be thousands of hearts rankling dissatisfied and discontented, and which could never be set at ease till justice was awarded. The petitioners, in whose name he was speaking, recollected that Earl Grey, and many of his colleagues, expressed, at the time of this outrage, a desire for an investigation into the matter. And how was that inquiry then resisted? First, by the production of official documents, emanating from the guilty party themselves; and next, by allusion to the trial at York; and the cry that the courts of justice were open to those who had any complaint to make. But the courts of justice were not open; for the relations of those that were killed had gone to those courts of justice, and even there all retribution had been denied them in the most cruel and indifferent manner. Nor was this all. All sorts of calumnious statements were allowed to be made in the House of Commons as to the conduct of the mob, by paid spies of the government. The general presumption was, that it was the intention of the Manchester meeting, had it not been interrupted, to pass resolutions similar to those passed at Smithfield, declaratory that, without a reform in Parliament, taxes ought not to be paid; and he believed that that presumption was the main reason why he had been found guilty. But now, what an alteration had taken place! It was only the other day that 150,000

persons had met at Birmingham, and actually made a declaration to the same effect ; and yet they were not cut down, — the yeomanry had not been called out to act against them. This motion for a select committee had, in a manner, become absolutely necessary ; for when he had moved for the correspondence that had taken place between Lord Sidmouth (then the secretary of state) and the lord lieutenant of the county, that correspondence had been refused ; and, therefore, he had no other course to pursue than to ask for a committee for general inquiry into the whole question. Some part of Lord Sidmouth's correspondence, however, was before the public ; for he had in his hand that letter of his lordship's in which he, in the name of the prince regent, thanked the magistracy for the way in which they had acted, — yes, actually thanked them for having directed the execution of these cold-blooded murders, — by which name he must call those deeds, and by which name they were ever designated in that part of the country where they had been committed. The consequence of this letter was, that the parties, so far from shrinking abashed as they ought, actually gloried in the share they had taken in the transaction ; and, in particular, he might mention that an Irishman of the name of Meagher, who was the trumpeter on that occasion, had boasted, when he returned to Ireland, that he had in one day spilled more Saxon blood than had ever been spilled by

any one of his countrymen before! The real truth of the matter was, in spite of the false colouring that interested parties had endeavoured to put on it, that the meeting at Manchester was neither more nor less than a reform meeting, that everything was going on peaceably, that not even so much as a pane of glass was broken, and though the government took the trouble to send Messrs. Oliver and Castles among the people to corrupt them, they were not able to succeed in their virtuous endeavours. As to his own personal feeling on the subject, he was quite willing to remember that twelve years had elapsed, and in that recollection to drown the memory of all he had himself suffered in consequence of the transactions of that day. It was enough for him, when he recollected the object of that meeting, to see the noble lord introduce such a measure of reform as he had never expected to see any government in this country introduce; and which, though it did not go the length that he could have desired, fully admitted the allegation, that the present House of Commons was not chosen by the people, — the allegation on which he had all along built his own proposition of reform. This, he repeated, was quite enough to wipe away any personal resentment that he might ever have felt. But if not — if he still were vindictive — what revenge might he not find in the events that had since taken place! Who was the prime minister of that day? The

Earl of Liverpool. And where was the Earl of Liverpool? Who were the principal officers of state of that day? Lord Sidmouth, Mr. Canning, and Lord Castlereagh. Of these, Lord Sidmouth alone remained; and where was Mr. Canning? where Lord Castlereagh, and how did he go out of the world? A remarkable fact it was, that two years afterward, on the very anniversary of that fatal 16th of August, while he was lying in prison, the very first letter that he opened detailed to him the end of that minister. Who was the reigning prince of that day? — George the Fourth — where was he? They had all gone to answer for their deeds at a tribunal where no jury could be packed, where no evidence could be stifled, and where unerring justice would be meted out to them. To carry this further, if it needed it, he might mention that two of those very yeomanry committed suicide on the very anniversary of the 16th of August, and many were now to be seen walking about the streets of Manchester, objects of a horrid pity. He would not say that all this was a just judgment on these participators in the murders of Manchester; but one might almost fancy that, though a House of Commons could not be found to deal out impartial justice, there was still a wise Providence over all, which, by its interference, had taken care not to let the guilty escape; and, as a climax to the whole, he hoped to live to see the day when the noble lord who yet

lived should be brought to the bar of justice for having sent Cottle, and Edwards, and Oliver, as spies, for the purpose of instigating the peaceful people to revolt. Nor was this all. Other retributions had taken place; the government of that day and its friends had only countenanced this destruction of the people for the sake of showing their anxiety to reform, but had actually undertaken a Continental war with the same objects in view, and yet now those very persons saw a rebellion taking place in spite of themselves, and had even been condemned unsuccessfully to battle its progress night after night in that House. He would say this, too, that if this committee of inquiry should be refused, and if he should live a few years longer, he did not doubt that he should see the day arrive when a much heavier retaliation, in another way, would take place. He himself denied no such thing; but was it in the character of human nature that persons who had been so deeply injured should sit down quiet and satisfied, when everything in the shape of redress was denied them? But he trusted that the government would not refuse this motion for inquiry; should, however, such a refusal be given, he should feel it to be his duty to bring the question again and again before the country, as often as the forms of the House would allow. In making his proposition to the House, he had not provided himself with a seconder; but after what had taken place, he would



call on the noble chancellor of the exchequer to second the motion. The noble lord had, twelve years ago, pretty freely expressed his opinion as to the transaction; and he presumed that that opinion had not been altered by the lapse of time. The laws of England and of every country had always been unanimous in expressing their abhorrence of the crime of murder; and it was because he charged those parties with being guilty of a deliberate and cold-blooded murder that he demanded an inquiry, in the name of justice and retribution."

We offer no apology for introducing this eloquent and manly appeal in behalf of long delayed justice. The popularity or unpopularity of Mr. Hunt forms no consideration in our minds; nay, even if the Duke of Cumberland himself (much as we loathe his character!) had been its author, it should still have found a place in our volume. How the ministers could reconcile it with their duty, both to God and man, to refuse the inquiry, we are at a loss to determine, particularly as each of them formerly expressed a desire for it. It is really astonishing with what different eyes men see things when in office and when toiling to get in!

In the October of this year, the Princess of Wales removed to Marseilles, weary of the attempts to traduce and insult her character by hirelings from the English court. A friend of

ours had the pleasure of enjoying her Royal Highness's confidence at this period, and, after her removal to Marseilles, the persecuted Caroline made the following observations: "What could I do, when I found such base attempts made to destroy my reputation by the most disreputable characters? I left Milan, and I have carefully preserved a journal of each day's history, which, upon perusal, will do much more than merely satisfy the nation, to which my heart so fondly clings. I wished," added the princess, "very ardently to have gone to England in the early part of this year, and I had resolved to do so; but my legal advisers prevented me, expressing their opinion that they should see me first." It is a fact that the interview with Mr. Brougham, so much desired in April, 1819, was not granted until a later period in 1820. Might not an earlier arrangement than this very probably have put the enemy to flight? The princess was not ignorant of the demise of the king, as we have before stated; and the source from which her Royal Highness received that information was too worthy of reliance to be doubted. Yet, being bound in honour to conceal the information and informant, both were kept in profound silence. It was generally supposed, however, that this event had taken place, because no man, afflicted as his Majesty was said to be, could possibly exist for any lengthened period. But in the then art

of governing, there were frequently many circumstances which were highly necessary to be concealed from the knowledge of the people. That precious trio, Sidmouth, Castlereagh, and Canning, environed the throne, and their dictatorial will was soon converted into law. Under their auspices, the already enormous standing army was still increased; while, like the tyrannical son of Philip, when he reprimanded Aristotle for publishing his discoveries, they whispered to their myrmidons, "Let us diffuse darkness around the land. Let the people be kept in a brutal state. Let their conduct, when assembled, be riotous and irrational as ignorance and our spies can make it, that they may be brought into discredit, and deemed unfit for the management of their own affairs. Let power be rendered dangerous in their hands, that it may continue unchallenged in our own. Let them not taste the fruit of the tree of knowledge, lest they become as wise as ourselves!" Such were the political sentiments of those at the head of affairs at this period; how successfully they acted upon them is too well known.

The nation opened its eyes, and never did ministers command themselves more than by the speech that proclaimed the death of the regime. It contained little else than the most violent and treasonable insinuations against the government, and the first appearance of a paper, that was not a mere echo, brought forth

this good advice, "It is the sovereign's duty to ease with mercy's oil the sufferer's heart."

The infamous and notorious "Six Acts" were introduced this session by "the Oppressors," the principal object of which was to impose further restrictions on the freedom of the press. This plan was considered likely to be the most successful, as well as the most insidious, mode of abolishing the few liberties remaining to Englishmen. Ministers thus thought to leave the form of our dearest safeguard untouched, and so gradually annihilate its essence. The voracious worm eats out the kernel completely, while the husk continues fair to the eye, and apparently entire. The husbandman would crush the insect, if it commenced the attack on the external tegument; but it carries on the work of destruction with efficacy and safety, while it corrodes the unseen fruit, and spares the outside shell. At this despotic period, the press was erected as a battery by the people to defend the almost vanquished citadel of their liberty; but, by these acts, Castlereagh, instead of attacking this citadel, opened the dams, locks, and flood-gates, so that the waters might secretly undermine its foundation, when he hoped to see it fall ingloriously into the hands of its enemies. While these base deeds were being accomplished, no thoughts were bestowed upon the people's wretchedness, which stood in dread array against ministerial imbecility. Indeed, the servile papers

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in the pay of government not only stoutly denied that such distress existed, but made the grossest attempts to impose on the public credulity. Let any one read such papers of the period we are speaking, if the employment be not too nauseous, and they will there see known facts, if they militated against the credit of the voluptuous regent, or his government, either doubted or denied; uncertain victories extolled beyond all resemblance to truth; and defeats, in the highest degree disgraceful and injurious, artfully extenuated. Notwithstanding all this effrontery and falsehood, the "Six Acts" were still thought necessary to gag that which corruption and bribery could not render quite inefficient in the cause of truth. While contemplating such acts of tyranny, we are led to exclaim with Cato, when seeking out the little barren spot of Utica, "Wherever there is a regard for liberty, justice, and humanity, there will we gladly take up our abode; for there we shall find a country and a home!"

The extraordinary events that occurred in the year 1820 are so closely interwoven with the weal and woe of the British people that it may be considered as one of the most serious periods in English history.

On the 15th of January the Duke of Kent became indisposed with a severe cold. On the 17th of the same month it was reported "that his Royal Highness's illness had assumed most alarm-

ing symptoms ;” and Sir David Dundas went off expressly to Sidmouth to attend his Royal Highness. The duke’s disorder increased, and at half-past one P. M., January 23d, this prince was deprived of his mortal existence, in the fifty-third year of his age. But a few days before, his Royal Highness was in good health, and in the prime of life. The public will one day be made acquainted with the particulars of the real cause of his death. At present, we shall only observe that his Royal Highness was too virtuous to be allowed to live long in a vicious court !

The public journals dwelt with much force upon the kind attentions and tender offices performed by the duchess, which, if true, were only what every good wife ought to have done. Who can be nearer to a wife than her husband ? and what lady of feeling and integrity would not blush to be negligent in the best services and the most unwearied attentions to the ordained partner of her life ? Royalty, however, has so many and such peculiar privileges, that what is considered wondrous grace with them is merely thought common decency in the vulgar part of Adam’s offspring.

About this time, the king’s health was stated to be “very much on the decline” (hypocrisy !), and the journals announced “that George the Third expired without a struggle, on the 29th of January, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign.” But we have the gratifi-

cation of setting history right in this particular. Of course, the letters and notices of this intelligence were immediately forwarded by the appointed messengers to the several foreign courts. It would be unnecessary for us here to offer any remark upon the character of George the Third, as we have previously noticed the origin of that unhappy disease which so lamentably afflicted him during the latter years of his truly unfortunate life. His Majesty bequeathed a sum of money to each of his sons ; but George the Fourth thought proper to withhold the Duke of Sussex's portion. This unjust act was the primary cause of the quarrel between these royal brothers, which lasted till the death of George the Fourth. But, as "kings can do no wrong," little was thought of his Majesty's dishonesty. Monarchs are aware of their privileges, and have, therefore, in many instances, not scrupled to commit the most heinous crimes. His late Majesty was one of this kind, and yet he was called, "His most gracious, religious, and benevolent Majesty." What a profanation of terms were these !

As a necessary preliminary to a new reign, George the Fourth was proclaimed in London on the 31st of the same month.

In February a pretended mysterious political plot was publicly adverted to, by the name of "The Cato Street Conspiracy." It was said that information having been received at Bow Street, that

a meeting of armed persons was to be held at a house in Cato Street, Mary-la-bonne, and, as the magistrates feared something serious would be the result, they forwarded a formidable body of their officers to the place. On the arrival of these persons, they found the number of men amounted to thirty, armed with guns, swords, daggers, and other weapons, and appeared ready to leave the place, which was a hayloft at the top of the house. The officers demanded an entrance, which was refused. Captain Fitzclarence then arrived, with a party of the guards, and a scene of much violence ensued. Some of the party were taken to Bow Street, which was lined with soldiers. The result proved serious to a police officer named Smythers, who was stabbed in the affray, which produced his death, and it was sworn that Arthur Thistlewood inflicted the wound.

This heartrending tragedy was generally thought to have been produced by government spies; indeed, several newspapers stated as much at the time. We, however, know such to have been the case, and that the characters of "blood-hounds" were but too well performed. Our bosoms swell with indignation at the recollection of such monstrous plots against the lives and liberties of our countrymen, and we regret that the plotters did not fall into their own snares.


On the morning after this lamentable occurrence a "Gazette Extraordinary" was issued, signed "Sid-





## CHAPTER XIX.

Resignation of Mr. Canning — His Public Career — Mr. Brougham and the Queen — Request for a Frigate — Paris or Calais — The Queen Dines — A Courier to Paris — The Progress of Her Majesty — Entry into London — Prince Leopold Tends His Respects — Damning Correspondence — Hisses by the Multitude — Right and Justice the Shield of England's Queen — "Bill of Pains and Penalties" — Brandenburgh House — Unhospitable Treatment — A Letter to Windsor — Sapient Speech of a Most Sapient Lord — A Despicable Man.

HE queen's return to England being now expected, Mr. Canning resigned his place in the Cabinet as president of the board of control, and retired to the Continent. One of his biographers says, "His conduct on this occasion, according to universal consent, was marked by the most perfect correctness and delicacy of feeling." Perhaps it might be so considered by some people; but to us it does appear that a man of sound public principles, of high and honourable private feelings, had no middle course to take at this juncture. Either the Queen of England was guilty, or she was the most persecuted and aggrieved of women. Will any one say that, in the first instance, it was the duty of a minister of high station to desert the painful, but respon-

sible, situation in which he stood, from any feeling of esteem or attachment to an individual so unworthy? In the other case, if Queen Caroline, as almost everybody believed, and as Mr. Brougham solemnly swore he believed, was innocent, was there any circumstance or consideration upon earth, — the wreck of ambition, the loss of fortune, or the fear of even death itself, — which should have induced an English gentleman, a man of honour, a man who had the feelings of a man, to leave a female, whom he called "friend," beneath the weight of so awful an oppression? To us, we must confess, Mr. Canning's conduct on this occasion appears one of the greatest blots we are acquainted with upon his public and private character, the almost unequivocal proof of a mind unused to the habit of taking sound and elevated views of the human action. Mr. Canning had, during a long career, — a career continued through nearly thirty years, — been the forward and unflinching opponent of popular principles and concessions. He had never once shrunk from abridging the liberties of the subject; he had never once shown trepidation at any extraordinary powers demanded by the Crown. With his arms folded, and his looks erect, he had sanctioned, without scruple, the severest laws against the press; he had advocated the arbitrary imprisonment of the free citizen; he had eulogised the forcible repression of public meetings; and he had

constantly declared himself the determined enemy of parliamentary reform. The only subject on which he professed liberal opinions (the Catholic question) was precisely that subject to which the great bulk of the community was indisposed. Such had been the career, such was the character, of Mr. Canning up to the time of his cowardly desertion of the injured Caroline, Queen of England.

Her Majesty was now daily expected to land upon our shores; and, powerful as was the arm of tyranny, her arrival was much feared by her husband and his ministers.

We have before mentioned that the queen desired several times, most particularly, to see Mr. Brougham. It is true that various places for meeting had been appointed; but some apology or other was invariably made, by the learned gentleman. Her Majesty finally wrote that she should be at St. Omers on a certain day, on her way to England, in the metropolis of which she was resolved to arrive as soon as possible. Her Majesty had previously appointed Mr. Brougham her attorney-general, desiring he would choose a solicitor to act with him, and he named Mr. Denman. One excuse for not attending to his appointment with the queen, Mr. Brougham ascribed to his electioneering business in Westmoreland; and another was Mrs. Brougham's being in a situation too delicate for him to leave her. Such excuses ought not to have prevented Mr. Brough-

am's giving his attention to the important business of the queen; indeed, he was once within four leagues of her Majesty's abode, with a certain letter in his pocket from the highest authorities; but Mr. Brougham did not venture to lay it before the queen, nor did he seek for an interview. The commission thus entrusted to this learned gentleman was the same which Lord Hutchinson undertook some time afterward.

The queen felt very indignant at Mr. Brougham's so repeatedly declining his engagements, and wrote to Lord Liverpool to request his lordship would send a frigate to convey her to England. Fearing, however, that this might be against the state projects then in contemplation, the queen, by the same post, wrote to her former friend and lady in waiting, Lady Anne Hamilton, to repair to her immediately at St. Omers, and attend her in her former capacity; and also, to Alderman Wood, that if Lord Liverpool refused or delayed to send a frigate, the alderman would hire a vessel for the purpose of bringing her to this country immediately.

Little time was lost in obeying these commands of the Queen of England. In the meantime Mr. Brougham wrote to her Majesty, requesting leave to meet her at Calais; to which the queen replied, she should choose to see him at the inn at St. Omers. Shortly after the arrival of her Majesty's lady in waiting and the alderman, Mr. Brougham

was announced, and informed her Majesty that he was accompanied by Lord Hutchinson (now Lord Donoughmore), the king's particular friend, who was the bearer of a message to her Majesty from the king, and asked leave when he might have the honour of introducing him to her Majesty. "No, no, Mr. Brougham" (said the queen), "no conversations for me; he must put it in writing, if you please; we are at war at present." "But, madam, it is impossible that so many scraps of different conversations can be properly arranged." "Then I don't see Lord Hutchinson," said the queen. "Madam, if you insist upon it, it shall be done; and when will your Majesty be pleased to receive it?" "To-morrow morning you may bring it me; and so good evening to you, as I suppose you are fatigued with your journey."

The next morning Mr. Brougham arrived with Lord Hutchinson's letter, which the queen opened and read in Mr. Brougham's presence; in the conclusion of that letter, her Majesty was earnestly entreated to wait the return of a courier from Paris. "Paris! Paris!" said the queen, "what have I to do with Paris?" Mr. Brougham, in much confusion, said, "Your Majesty must have mistaken; it must mean Calais; my friend is too honourable to mean anything of that kind, or to do anything wrong." "No, no, Mr. Brougham; Paris, Paris! Look there!" pointing the sentence out to him. Then added the queen, "You will

come and dine with me to-day." "May not I bring Lord Hutchinson with me, please your Majesty?" "Certainly not." "But I hope you will see Lord Hutchinson?" "Yes; let him come directly." The queen then assembled her whole household, and received his lordship in the midst of a formal circle, talked upon indifferent subjects for about a quarter of an hour; then rose, and, gracefully curtseying, left the room. Most of the household followed; and Mr. Brougham, with his friend, Lord Hutchinson, did not remain long behind. Mr. Brougham afterward returned, but appeared exceedingly disconcerted. Lady Hamilton was present, and tried to draw him into conversation upon various subjects; but he answered, rather abruptly, "You and the alderman are leading the queen to her destruction." The lady replied, that was a mistake; she did not interfere in political affairs. Mr. Brougham begged pardon, and the subject was ended by the queen entering the room to dinner. The dinner passed off very well; her Majesty appeared in good spirits, as did Mr. Brougham. It was the queen's general practice not to sit long after dinner; she, therefore, soon retired with her lady, and the gentlemen adjourned to the drawing-room to await the serving of coffee. By her Majesty's orders, her maids were waiting with her travelling dress, with the carriages all ready in the courtyard, in the first of which her Majesty immediately seated herself, as

also Lady Hamilton and Alderman Wood. The moment before her Majesty drove out of the yard, she desired her maître d'hôtel to inform Mr. Brougham "that the queen would drink coffee with him in London;" yet five minutes had not elapsed from leaving the dinner-table to her driving out from the inn, as fast as four post-horses could convey her. This was the only time her Majesty was ever known to show fear; but, at the appearance of any horseman, she became very much agitated from the supposition that she should be detained in France, under a pretence of not having a correct passport, the want of horses, or some such trivial excuse. The queen was aware that the King of England had, not long before, placed Louis the Eighteenth upon the throne of France; therefore he could not object to any proposition her husband thought proper to require. Her Majesty also knew that a courier had been despatched to Paris, and that that courier was one of Mr. Brougham's brothers. Mr. Brougham himself actually joined with Lord Hutchinson in trying to persuade her Majesty to remain in France till the return of the courier. The queen's active and intelligent mind saw everything at a glance, and she acted with the promptitude of her character. Alderman Wood proposed that her Majesty should rest that night at D'Estaing's fine hotel at Calais, instead of sleeping on board a common packet, which would not sail till the



morning. "No, no," said the queen, "drive straight to the shore;" and out she got, like a girl of fifteen, and was in the packet before any one else. "There," said her Majesty, "now I can breathe freely, — now I am protected by English laws." The queen was hardly seated, when Alderman Wood presented her with a note from Mr. Brougham, entreating her Majesty to return, if only for the night, to D'Estaing's, and promising that no harm should happen to her. "No, no," replied the queen, "I am safe here, and I will not trust him;" and then threw a mattress in the middle of her cabin, with some blankets, and slept there all night. In the morning, when her Majesty was about to land at Dover, she seemed a little intimidated, in consequence of the dense multitude through which she had to pass. Her Majesty's fears, however, were entirely groundless, as she soon found the hearts of Britons were friendly to her cause, though they exemplified it rather roughly; for her feet were never permitted to touch the ground from the time her Majesty left the vessel till her arrival at the inn, which she availed herself of with feelings of the most gratifying description, at the sympathy manifested in the cause of persecuted virtue.

As soon as her Majesty could procure horses, she set forward to Canterbury, where she was received with similar acclamations. The populace insisted upon drawing her Majesty out of the

town, and then would not suffer the horses to be put to without her personal entreaties. Thousands of blessings were poured on her head, without one dissenting voice, and in this manner did her Majesty proceed all the way to London.

The queen took up her abode at 77 South Audley Street until another more suitable residence could be provided for her. The family of Alderman Wood, who previously inhabited this house, left it immediately after receiving intelligence that her Majesty would make a temporary use of it, and they occupied apartments at Flagdon's hotel.

On the ensuing day several of the nobility and members of the House of Commons called to inquire after her Majesty's health. On the 9th of this month her Majesty removed from South Audley Street to 32 Portman Square, the residence of the Right Honourable Lady Anne Hamilton, by whom the queen was attended. Her ladyship's servants were continued, and her Majesty was much pleased with the respectful and generous attentions rendered.

On the 16th the queen received an address from the common council of the city of London, to which she returned an answer so feelingly expressed as to excite the sympathy and admiration of all present.

On the afternoon of the sixth day of the queen's entry into London a message was de-

livered from the king to both Houses of Parliament, communicating certain reports and papers respecting the queen's misconduct while abroad. On the following Thursday a committee was appointed in the House of Lords; but the queen transmitted a communication to the House of Commons, protesting against the reference of her accusations to a secret tribunal, and soliciting an open investigation of her conduct.

Thus was commenced a prosecution in principle and object every way calculated to rouse the generous and constitutional feelings of the nation, and the effects were without parallel in the history of all countries! Could a more outrageous insult possibly have been offered to her dignity, to the honour of her husband, the king, or to the morality and decency of the community at large?

Up to this time, Prince Leopold had not tendered his respects to her Majesty; yet he was the widowed husband of the queen's only and dearly beloved daughter. His Serene Highness had been raised from a state of comparative poverty and obscurity to be honoured with the hand of England's favourite princess, from whose future reign was expected a revival of commerce and an addition of glory. Though this prince was enjoying an annual income of fifty thousand pounds from the country; though he had town and country residences, of great extent and magnificent appearance; though he abounded with horses and

carriages, yet not one offer did he make of any of these superfluous matters to the mother of his departed wife, by whose means he had become possessed of them all. Gratitude, however, is generally esteemed a virtue, and therefore a German prince could not be supposed to know anything about it.

About this period her Majesty received numerous communications tending to prove the infamous proceedings against her to have been adopted without reference to honour or principle, and to warn her from falling into the snares of her mercenary and vindictive enemies. We lay before our readers the following, as sufficient to establish this fact :

“An officer of the frigate which took her Majesty (when Princess of Wales) to the Continent averred, in the presence of three unimpeachable witnesses, that a very few days before her Majesty’s embarkation, Captain King, while sitting at breakfast in his cabin with the surgeon of the frigate, received a letter from a brother of the prince regent, which he read aloud, in the presence of the said surgeon, as follows :

“ ‘DEAR KING :— You are going to be ordered to take the Princess of Wales to the Continent. If you don’t commit adultery with her, you are a damned fool ! You have my consent for it, and I

can assure you that you have that of my brother, the regent.

“ ‘Yours,

(Signed)

“ ‘\_\_\_\_\_.’ ”

“The officer who made the above statement and declaration is a most creditable person, and the witnesses are all in this country.

“LONDON, May 7, 1820.

“Furnished to supply the queen with proof that the royal duke in question is leagued against her, in accordance with the wishes of the king!

“PRIVATE DOCUMENT.

“ ‘Captain King’s agent is Mr. Stillwell, 22 Arundel Street, Strand, London, and the surgeon who was present during the period the royal duke’s letter was read is James Hall. The witnesses were — Mr. Freshfield, 3 Tokenhouse Yard; Mr. Holmes, 3 Lyon’s Inn; and Mr. Stokoe, 2 Lancaster Court; as also before Barry O’Meara.

(Signed)

“ ‘BARRY E. O’MEARA.’ ”

On the 24th of June a deputation of the House of Commons was appointed to wait upon her Majesty with the resolutions adopted by the House on Thursday, the 22d. They arrived at a quarter-past one o’clock. Mr. Wilberforce and

Mr. S. Wortley occupied the first carriage. At their appearance, strong symptoms of displeasure were indicated. They were then introduced to the queen, Mr. Brougham standing at her Majesty's right hand, and Mr. Denman at her left. They severally knelt and kissed her Majesty's hand. Mr. Wilberforce then read the resolutions, and her Majesty replied to them. On their departure Mr. Brougham accompanied the deputation to the door; and, after they had taken their seats in the carriages, Mr. Brougham returned to shake hands with them, although the multitudes assembled outside hissed them exceedingly.

Her Majesty's answer to the before-mentioned resolutions was superior to the tricks of her enemies. In it the queen refused terms of conciliation, unless they accorded with her duty to her own character, to the king, and to the nation! "A sense of what is due to my character and sex," said the queen, "forbids me to refer minutely to the real cause of our domestic differences." Indeed, her Majesty's reply was an appeal to those principles of public justice which should be alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individuals. Mr. Wilberforce exposed himself to much censure upon the part he had taken in the House; and, as he so unhesitatingly hinted at the awful contents of the "Green Bag," he said, "by suppressing her own feelings, the queen would endear herself to the country."

We suppose Mr. Wilberforce meant that, by suppressing her own feelings of honour, she would gratify the honour of the country; and, by again quitting it, demonstrate her gratitude for its unshaken loyalty; but the queen was firm in her resolve to claim justice, whether it was given or withheld.

In considering these base endeavours to injure innocence, in order to raise the noble character of a voluptuous prince, we cannot help remarking that power was the only weapon of the vitiated monarch, while right and justice formed the shield of the oppressed Queen of England. Indeed, every man, glowing with the sincere love of his country, and actuated by that honourable affection for its welfare which takes a lively and zealous interest in passing events, must have considered such proceedings against her Majesty fraught with inevitable evil. If her innocence, according to the prayers of millions of her subjects, should be made manifest, the public indignation would be sure to be roused, and probably prove resentful. The evidence was known to be of a description on which no magistrate would convict a common pickpocket, and, therefore, if the legislature should even be induced to consider her Majesty guilty of the charges preferred against her, public opinion would certainly refuse to ratify the sentence, and turn with disgust from those promulgating it. In either case, those venerable tribunals, consecrated by our

forefathers, must lose that beautiful, that honourable, that unbought, homage which a free people have ever been proud to pay them. No Englishman, we say, accustomed to reverence, with a prejudice almost sacred, the constitution of a Parliament, majestic even in its errors and infirmities, could contemplate, without pain, the possibility — nay, the almost certainty — that the hour was not far distant when the whole nation would look with cold indifference, or gloomy distrust, on the acts of a senate; their generous obedience to which (though it had been accompanied with suffering, and followed by privation) had been “the admiration of the whole world.”

On the 6th of July Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, usher of the black rod, waited upon her Majesty with a copy of the “Bill of Pains and Penalties” against her, presented the previous day to the House of Lords, and which was forwarded by order of their lordships. Her Majesty went into the room where the deputation were waiting, and received a copy of this bill with great calmness. Upon an examination of the abominable instrument, her Majesty said, “Yes, the queen who had a sufficient sense of honour and goodness to refuse the base offer of fifty thousand pounds a year of the public money, to spend it when, where, how, and with whom she pleased, in banquetings, feastings, and excesses, providing it were in a foreign country, and not at home, has sufficient resolution to await the result



of every investigation power can suggest." Like another Cleopatra, our insulted queen might have played "the wanton" with impunity; her imperial bark might have displayed its purple streamers, swelled with the softest Cyprian breezes. It might have sailed triumphantly down the Adriatic, to meet some highly favoured lover. Yes, by desire of the king, her husband, the queen was requested to accept any terms beside those of a legitimate character. But her Majesty preserved her usual firmness and serenity of mind during the unequalled proceedings instituted against her, and frequently repeated the unequivocal expression, "Time will furnish sufficient proof of my innocence."

On the 5th of August the queen took possession of Brandenburg House, formerly the residence of the Margravine of Anspach, situated near the Thames, and in the parish of Hammersmith. Her Majesty left Lady Hamilton's house at four o'clock, attended by her ladyship, and accompanied by Doctor Lushington, in an entirely new and elegant open carriage, drawn by four beautiful bay horses. They drove off amidst united shouts of applause from the assembled people.

Will future generations believe the historian's tale, that a queen — yes, a brave and virtuous Queen of England, too! — was refused a house and a home by the sovereign, her husband? That she, who was lured from her princely home, arrived in the centre of England, and was denied a resting-

place by the king and his ministers! In consequence of which, she was necessitated to take up her abode in the mansion of a late lord mayor for the space of three days, and then to accept the use of the house of her lady in waiting for nearly two months; while there were palaces totally unoccupied, and even mouldering into decay for want of being inhabited. This statement will, doubtless, appear overdrawn to future generations; but there are thousands now living who can testify to its accuracy. Ministers, indeed, entered into compact with deception, and so glaringly committed their sentiments and characters that, to preserve their own pretended consistency, they would have even uncrowned the king himself. A feverish sensation now pervaded the whole public mind, and, from the highest to the lowest, the case of the queen was one universal theme of conversation.

On the 6th of August her Royal Highness the Duchess of York died. Up to a very late hour of the day on which this occurred, no official communication had been made to the queen; but, in consequence of the event, her Majesty requested to postpone several addresses which she had previously appointed to receive.

On the 7th the queen sent a letter to the king, but it was returned from Windsor unopened, with a communication that "such a letter addressed to the king cannot be received by his Majesty, unless it passes through the hands of his minister." Why,

after the refusal to receive this letter, should the princess be blamed for permitting its contents to be published? If the king were under obligations of such a description as to incapacitate him from exercising his own judgment, and giving his own opinion, was he fit to administer the laws, or ought he to have sanctioned the appeal of miscreants who sought their own, and not their country's, good? Let us consider the delays attending this letter. It was sent to Windsor, directed expressly for the king, accompanied with a note, written by the queen, to Sir B. Bloomfield, desiring it might be immediately delivered into the king's hand. Sir B. Bloomfield was absent, and Sir W. Keppell, as the next in command, received it, and forwarded the same to Sir B. Bloomfield, at Carlton House, immediately, who returned the letter on the 8th to her Majesty, saying, "I have received the king's commands and general instructions, that any communications which may be made should pass through the hands of his Majesty's government." The queen immediately despatched a letter to Lord Liverpool, enclosing the one she had addressed to the king, by the hands of a messenger, in which her Majesty desired the earl to present it. Lord Liverpool was then at Coombe Wood, and wrote in reply, that he would "lose no time in laying it before his Majesty." Up to the 11th, no reply had been received; and the queen wrote to Lord Liverpool again, to know if further communi-

cation were needful. Lord Liverpool replied that he had not received the king's commands upon the subject, and, therefore, could not give any positive answer relative to it. How does this strange and incomprehensible conduct appear to any unbiassed Englishman? Was the king, who ought to be the dispenser of the laws, to be free from imputation, when he thus exposed his unrelenting temper and unbending determination, wherever his private inclinations were concerned? We dare avow, if that letter could have been answered, it would; but its contents were unanswerable. "Ay," said the hireling Castlereagh, "it is no matter what the conduct of the Princess of Wales has been; it is the king's desire that he may no more be obliged to recognise her in her former character of Princess of Wales." Oh, most sapient speech of a most sapient lord! truly this was a bold doctrine to broach, that kings have a right divine to subdue, injure, oppress, and govern wrong.

We pass by the number of addresses presented to her Majesty at this period, and also the not-to-be-mistaken expression of public opinion against the projector of her injuries. Were they not concocted by the authority of the monarch, her husband? Was it not by his divine decree that his consort's name was erased from the liturgy? Did he not send down to Parliament that message which denounced his queen a criminal? Yet, after all this, Lord Liverpool said, "The king

has no personal feeling upon the subject." Very true, his Majesty could not have any personal feeling toward the queen; his royal feelings had always been confined to the libidinous and the most obnoxious of society. Had he been a worthy and upright plaintiff against the most unfortunate of defendants, would he have scrupled to have shown himself in his regal chair upon the continued debates arising from this most important question; and would not a sense of greatness and virtue, had he possessed either, after hearing the infamous statements of false witnesses, have influenced him to decline further proceedings, though his pride might have withheld an acknowledgment of error? This line of honest conduct was not followed, and we are therefore obliged to brand him as one of the most despicable and mean of the human race.



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